

How Jesus Became God

*An Historical Study of the Life of Jesus
To the Age of Constantine*

Conrad Henry Moehlman

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CHAPTER I

THE PRE-CALVARY LIFE OF JESUS

1. *The Heritage of Jesus*

“Jesus was not a Christian: he was a Jew. He did not proclaim a new faith, but taught men to do the will of God. According to Jesus, as to Jews generally, the will of God is to be found in the Law and the other canonical scriptures.” That is the testimony of a competent scholar.

It was only after his death that the eschatological congregation at Jerusalem made a Christian of him. The religious traditions of his people were part and parcel of his thinking. From those he derived his summary of the law, the Lord's Prayer, and his parables. In the five books of the canonized Law, in the eight books of the Nebiim, or Prophets, also canonized, and in the eleven books of the Kethubim, or Writings, in part canonized he recognized his primary religious authority. These books were in general in Hebrew.

They formed the Bible to which he was devoted. They were in process of translation into Greek.

As the Jews of the Diaspora, or Dispersion made their annual visits from the lands beyond Palestine to the temple at Jerusalem, they brought with them these scriptures in the Greek translation known as the Septuagint, or LXX. No translation ever exactly represents the original. So this LXX had a different numbering and arrangement of the books of the Bible. The Jewish Bible enumerated twenty-two or twenty-four Books; the Septuagint, thirty-nine. The Septuagint gave Christians their names for the Books of the Bible: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua to Malachi. The Greek Bible also sometimes employed KYRIOS (Lord) of God; it had different renderings for critical passages. The LXX was the Bible of the Old Testament portion of the Christian Bible. Greek-speaking Christians very soon resorted to its employment. The Christian New Testament quotes hundreds of times from the Jewish Old Testament but always in the LXX form. Thus all the differences between the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek Old Testament find their way into the Christian Old Testament and when the Jews discovered *this different Old Testament of the Christians*, they had to hold it in contempt and resort to new translations of the LXX more in accord with their Hebrew text. And in turn, in Christian apologies the Jews are accused of mutilating the text of the Old Testament to get rid of precise predictions applicable only to Jesus of Nazareth. Historical criticism has not merely shown the charge unwarranted but has been obliged to call attention to Christian accommodation and perversion of Old Testament passages.

Palestinian Judaism used the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Christianity generally employed the Greek trans-

lation of the Old Testament which differed from the Hebrew in thousands of readings. Some of the Christian-Jewish points of difference can be thus accounted for. *The Epistle of Barnabas* quotes Isaiah 45:1 as 'The Lord said to *Christ*, my Lord' where the Hebrew reads, 'Cyrus, my lord.'

The Dialogue with Trypho by Justin the Martyr acknowledges the variations between the Hebrew and Greek Old Testaments and then proceeds to accuse the Jews of corrupting the scripture text. Justin claims that the following sentences from Esdras have been removed by the Jews:

'And Esdras said to the people, This passover is our Savior and our refuge. And if you have understood, and your heart has taken it in, that we shall humble Him on a standard, and thereafter hope in Him, then this place shall not be forsaken forever, says the God of Hosts. But if you will not believe Him, and will not listen to His declaration, you shall be a laughing stock to the nations.'

Consider, for example, this specimen from Justin in which he tries to prove that Psalm 22:15-18 contained the details of Golgotha:

'And the statement, "Thou hast brought me into the dust of death; for many dogs have surrounded me: the assembly of the wicked have beset me round. They pierced my hands and feet. They did tell all my bones. They did look and stare upon me. They parted my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture," was a prediction of the death to which the synagogue of the wicked would condemn him, whom he calls both dogs and hunters, declaring that those who

hunted him were both gathered together and assiduously striving to condemn him. And this is recorded to have happened in the memoirs of his apostles.'

And here is the translation based upon the Hebrew:

"I am laid low in the dust of death.
For a pack of curs encircle me,
a gang of villains surround me;
my hands and feet are all disfigured,
I can count all my bones,
and my foes are gloating over me,
dividing already my very clothes,
and casting lots for my raiment."

To turn a scene portraying one beset by wild beasts and about to become their prey into a minute description of Jesus' death upon the cross only the allegorist would propose. But the Greek translation had already incorrectly rendered 'my hands and feet are all disfigured' by 'they pierced my hands and feet.' And the Vulgate, Syriac, and other versions copied the mistake.

Genesis contains a prediction regarding Simeon and Levi:

'Simeon and Levi are brethren;
Weapons of violence are their swords.
O my soul, come not thou into their council;
Unto their assembly, my glory, be not thou invited;
For in their anger, they slew a man,
And in their self-will, they hocked an ox.'

Tertullian, too orthodox to remain a Catholic, becoming a member of a fundamentalist millennarian group, used his

imagination upon this perfectly plain statement. When he completed his interpretation, Simeon and Levi had been converted into the scribes and Pharisees; ox, into Christ; a man into men; the unmentioned men into prophets. "For against him did they wreak their fury after they had slain his prophets, even by affixing him with nails to the cross. Otherwise, it is an idle thing when, after slaying men, he inveighs against them for the torture of a bullock." Allegory enables any person anywhere to turn the Old Testament to his purpose but only by cancelling original significance and history.

This translation of the Old Testament was used by Paul to conduct his missionary work. Without it he might have failed. But involved in any translation of the Bible is the emergence of variations. There are no two manuscripts of the Bible in exact agreement. In case of a translation those variations become more and more. At Genesis 5:27, the LXX lets Methuselah survive the flood by fourteen years. But then he should have been in the ark. According to the Hebrew, Methuselah died before the flood. Both can't be right. Augustine rightly lets the LXX reading be wrong.

In addition to this authoritative canonized Hebrew Old Testament were other semi-canonical books such as I and II Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom of Solomon, Tobit, Judith and so on in Greek which contained passages of rare beauty, read in Jewish circles of the Diaspora, known as the Apocrypha. Some of them are to be found in the Roman Catholic Bible and are regarded as Scripture to this day.

A third body of writing is now classified as Pseudepigrapha—that is, writings under assumed names, such as Ahikar, Sibylline Oracles, Jubilees, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Ezra, Enoch, III Maccabees, IV Maccabees. These books contain many passages of fine religious insight and now appear in Greek. They were composed between B.C. 175-

A.D. 135. Townsend remarking upon their significance in his translation of the Fourth Book of the Maccabees says:

"It has been finely said that if Judaism as a religion had perished under Antiochus IV, the seed-bed of Christianity would have been lacking; and thus the blood of the Maccabean martyr, who saved Judaism, ultimately became the seed of the church. Therefore as not only Christendom but also Islam derive their monotheism from a Jewish source, it may well be that the world today owes the very existence of monotheism both in the East and in the West to the Maccabees."

"In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs written in the late first century B.C., the ethical teaching is closely similar to that of the gospels. Compare 'love the Lord and your neighbor'; 'love ye one another from the heart, and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee be take to swearing, and so thou sin doubly . . . but if he be shameless and persist in wrong doing, even so forgive him from the heart and leave to God the avenging.' "

The abundant religious life of Palestine was composed of Pharisees, Sadducees, Scribes, rabbis who were enriching the religious discussions of the towns and villages. Philo, the Alexandrian philosopher and the master mind in the art of allegory exerted a vast influence. He, Pliny the Elder, Josephus the historian both in his *Wars of the Jews* (Book

II, VIII, 2-14) and *Antiquities of the Jews* (Book XV, X, 5; XVIII I, 5) refer at length to the Essenes, one of the many sects of Judaism which from the beginning of Christianity always attracted the historian's attention as involved in the story of John the Baptizer.

The socalled Zadokite Document was discovered in an ancient synagogue in Cairo half a century ago and stimulated research. Since 1947 the entire Hinterland of Jesus' life has blazed brightly with one discovery after another of significance in the finds of the Qumram caves. Book after book has made them available to the scholars and layman alike. The myth of the "four centuries of silence"—Ezra to Jesus—is now fully discredited. The Jewish religion of Jesus' day was vibrant with life.

This much seems certain already: The scrolls have no concern with the Christianity of Paul but only with the Christianity of James and the Jerusalem brotherhood. *The Dead Sea Scriptures* deal with matters affecting the life of a Jewish community not with Christianity.

The Epistle of James was for Luther not apostolic, for it did not agree with Paul and other scripture or mention the suffering or resurrection of Christ.

James 1:27—"Religion that is pure and undefiled before God and the Father is this: to visit orphans and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unstained from the world."

James 2:8—"If you really fulfill the royal law, according to the Scripture, 'You shall love your neighbor as you shall love yourself' you do well."

James 2:14-17—"What does it profit, my brethren, if a man says he has faith but has not works? Can his faith save him? If a brother or sister is ill-clad and in lack of daily

food, and one of you says to him, 'Go in peace, be warmed and filled,' and without giving them the things needed for the body, what does it profit?

So faith by itself, if it has no works, is dead."

The Epistle of James is a good illustration of what Christianity might have become if the emphasis of the Jewish tradition had prevailed—an ethical religion of redemption.

Martin Luther called the Epistle of James a "right strawy epistle" and commented at length upon it: James 1:6, "But let him ask in faith"—"this is the only and best place in the entire epistle;" 1:21, "receive with meekness the implanted word"—"that is, others have planted it, not this James;" 2:3, "and ye have regard to him that weareth the fine clothing"—"why is it sinful to show an overlord outward honors;" 2:24, "ye see that by works man is justified and not only by faith"—"*that is not true*;" 3:1, "be not many of you teachers"—"good, if you yourself had only observed the rule."

According to Theodor H. Gaster, the Christianity of the James' Epistle (*Dead Sea Scriptures*, page 12) is the only kind of Christianity these scrolls know. His question is: "Do the Dead Sea Scrolls restore to us a long-lost forerunner of Christianity?"

"The answer is, Yes and No.

"Yes, in the sense that they furnish a picture of the religious and cultural climate in which John the Baptist conducted his mission and in which Jesus was initially reared. They portray for us, in vivid but authentic colors, the environment whose spiritual idiom John and Jesus spoke, whose concepts they developed and transmuted and whose religious ideas served largely as the seedbed of the New Testament.

They also mirror a form of religious organization many elements of which were adopted by the primitive Church."

"No, in the sense that what we have in these documents is, as it were, but the rude clay as yet unmolded by Christian hands. There is in them no trace of any of the cardinal theological concepts—the incarnate Godhead, Original Sin, redemption through the Cross, and the like—which make Christianity a distinctive faith."

On pages 15 and 16 of his book, Gaster traces the resemblances between the General Epistle of James and the Dead Sea Scrolls and concludes his comparisons with this statement:

"On the strength of these comparisons we may perhaps not unreasonably conclude that the Dead Sea Scrolls indeed open a window upon the little community of Jewish Christians clustered around James in Jerusalem. These men may have been originally the urban brethren of the hardier souls that betook themselves to Qumram and to other camp-settlements in the Desert of Judah. For the *Zadokite Document* provides expressly for urban as well as camp communities; while of the Essenes, with whom they may be identical, Josephus states (*War*, II viii, 4) that they also lived in the cities. The possibility is increased by a number of significant statements made about James by Hegesippus, the historian of the Jews, who wrote during the latter half of the second century C.E. 'Because of his exceeding righteousness,' we are in-

formed, 'James was named the Righteous'; and once, when the scribes urged him to preach against Jesus they addressed him pointedly as 'Thou Righteous One, to whom we are all bound to listen.' Does not this sound uncommonly like a reflection of the title 'Teacher of Righteousness' (or, True Expounder of the Law) which occurs so frequently in the Scrolls and in the *Zadokite Document* as that of the spiritual instructor of the Brotherhood? And is it not equally significant that, according to this same Hegesippus, James habitually eschewed the use of oil and wore linen garments only—two of the characteristic traits which Josephus (*War*, II, viii, 3, 5) attributes to the Essenes?"

But Gaster's most convincing statement occurs on page 19 where he compares what is distinctive in Christianity with the Scrolls:

"It has been asserted, for instance that the several references in the Scrolls to the 'right-teacher' all refer to a single historical Teacher of Righteousness—a prototype of Jesus—and that a passage in one of them which speaks of his having been 'persecuted' but having subsequently 'appeared' to the community on the Day of Atonement foreshadows the Christian doctrine of the suffering and resurrected Saviour. Even, however, if the interpretation were correct (which is doubtful), this would still be poles apart from the Christian belief that the crucified Master was God incarnate Who by His passion removed a sinfulness inherent in man through a pristine fall from grace. *Of this basic doctrine of Christianity there is not a shred or trace in the Dead Sea Scrolls.*"

"Other essential doctrines also are missing. There is, here,

for instance, no vestige of the idea of Original Sin. On the contrary, the idea is affirmed constantly in the Book of Hymns that every man is endowed at birth with the charisma of knowledge and discernment and that any sinfulness which he incurs is due only to his individual neglect of these gifts and to his individual submission to, or entrapment by, the domination of the evil impulse (Belial). Moreover, because sin is individual and not the inherited lot of man, and because it is incurred by his own personal disposition, it can be removed also by his own individual experience. Once he 'sees the light' by the exercise of his own God-given powers, he is out of darkness. In such a system, since there is no concept of original, universal sin, there is obviously no place for universal vicarious atonement. Men suffer their individual crucifixions and resurrections; there is no Calvary."

We may add that terms like "satisfaction," "substitution," "imputation," "merit," "Original Sin" cannot be found in the *Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible* by James Strong. And thus are not of the vocabulary of the Bible.

Last but not least in the background of Jesus is his acquaintance with John the Baptizer a very popular preacher of righteousness. So significant was he that predictions of his appearance were found in the Jewish Old Testament. *His message was ethical.* Multitudes joined this sect and graduated into the Jesus community. "After John had been arrested, Jesus went to Galilee preaching the gospel of God."

Jesus then can be understood only in this Jewish setting.

Jesus' first appeal to his contemporaries was as a prophet and a rabbi and probably as an exorcist. Placing himself at the converging point of a group of humble men and women who would listen to him he taught them about the way of God. His personality was of such charm and impressiveness

that they stayed to hear more, finally refusing to desert him when things went against him. They could not forget his sayings but most of all they could not forget him.

Throughout his teaching career they regarded him as the son of Joseph and Mary. The first generation of his followers considered him as the first born of an average Jewish family.

Jesus lived in revolutionary times. His public career lasted for from nine months to some two years. Toward the end of this period some of his disciples thought he had shown the qualities of a leader who might be successful against the national enemy, Rome. They tried to turn him into a Son of David, Messiah, a political leader, and his career came to a sudden and humiliating end through the intervention of the Roman procurator, Pontius Pilate. Despair seized his associates. They returned to their former occupations, for their dreams of glory had vanished.

In the defeat of their grand hopes they as religious persons sought light and comfort in their Holy Book, the Bible of Judaism. They read there in the Book of Daniel about another type of Messiah from the Son of David. He was not a political Messiah. Indeed they began to doubt that their original faith in the Davidic Messiah was valid. For David had died and was buried and must therefore have applied his proclamation to another, whose flesh did not see corruption, who had ascended to heaven, viz., Jesus.

They boldly substituted him for the Son of David. They reviewed their experiences with Jesus, they fitted him into this framework as Son of Man. Later when they were saturated with this idea, they composed their reminiscences, *predating the Son of Man and writing their gospels from the point of this new faith*. So successful were they that the later church could believe that Jesus called himself Son of Man from the earliest days of his ministry and merely was refer-

ring to his humanity, by using the term. This was a gross error.

The thought of Jesus as recorded in the gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke represents his teaching as modified by the reflections of the Jerusalem body of Christians. What may actually come from Jesus and what has been colored by the experiences of his group is often debatable.

2. Early Impressions of Jesus

No life of Jesus can be written. The year of his birth and the year of his death are unknown. A good case can be established for very different hypotheses. There was no interest in the earliest time in the matter of his birthday. It was the fourth century before his birth was celebrated on December 25 which then was the Winter solstice—corresponding to December 21 or 22 today. On more than ninety per cent of the life of Jesus, the surviving records make no comment.

The gospels are only selected reminiscences of acts and sayings of Jesus composed over the years by his followers—a group of sincere and honest men and women who thoroughly believed that he would be present in person and visibly at the rapidly approaching judgment of the world. The grand assize would occur in their generation. Jesus would be vindicated then by being inaugurated as King of a new age. Thus the life of Jesus as at first understood extended from the reign of Herod the King to the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate.

“Ye follow an empty rumor and make a Christ for yourselves. If he was born and lived somewhere, he is entirely unknown,” Justin the Martyr, a second century apologist for Christianity, lets Trypho the Jew assert in his *Dialogue with Trypho*. Yet some of us think that doubts regarding the

historicity of Jesus are first encountered in the modern age.

Schuerer, a scholar of giant proportions, wrote a massive *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus* but allots less than a page to the significance of the career of Jesus. Jesus and his followers influenced the trend of Jewish history but little. The conflict with the Roman Empire continued until the revolution of A.D. 66 brought the Roman general Vespasian to Judaea and a war ensued which was concluded by Titus with the destruction of the Temple and the transfer of the temple tax to the Roman god Jupiter Capitolinus and his temple, from Jerusalem to Rome. It was in connection with the collection of this tax that the separateness of Christianity from Judaism was discovered in an effective way, for the Christians refused to pay the tax because they were not Jews.

The earliest Gospel, that according to Mark, contains some statements which indicate how his contemporaries thought concerning Jesus and how he thought of himself.

In Mark 3:21-35 there is a colorful passage from which a few pertinent verses will illustrate the point:

“And when his friends heard of it they went out to seize him, for they said: *He is beside himself* . . . And there came his mother and his brothers; and standing outside they sent to him and called him. And a crowd was sitting about him; and they said to him, Your mother and your brothers are outside asking for you. And he replied, Who are my mother and my brothers? And looking around on those who sat about him, he said, Here are my mother and my brothers! Whoever does the will of God is my brother, sister and mother.”

On another occasion, his reporters were so astonished at his failure to do mighty works that they recorded both his frustration and the fact:

“And Jesus said to them, a prophet is not without honor, except in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own home. And he could do no mighty work there, except that he laid his hands upon a few sick folk, and he healed them. And he marvelled at their unbelief.” (Mark 6:46)

When Jesus was addressed as “*good teacher*,” the incident was described thus:

“And as he was going forth into the way, there ran one to him, and kneeled to him, and inquired of him, Good Teacher, what shall I do that I may inherit the eternal life? And Jesus said unto him, Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone.” (Mark 10:18)

Jesus evidently discriminated between God and himself. He was not God! He was a teacher sent from God. The confraternity version, the new Roman Catholic translation of the New Testament, a revision of the Douay version, calls attention to the parallel passages in Matthew 19:17 and Luke 18:18 and remarks that the parallel passages Mark 10:18 and Luke 18 create “*a theological difficulty not found in Matthew’s Gospel: Jesus apparently disclaims being good and consequently being God.*” The discrimination between God and Jesus is found also in Mark 13:32, where the time of the parousia cannot be announced by Jesus:

“But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, *but only the Father.*”

Jesus wished to be interpreted as a teacher of religion by those who heard him. What did he desire to teach? Did he pass out advice like that? “As a teacher your only interest is to discover the truth. As a preacher you must conserve other interests besides the truth. It is your business to deal circumspectly with the whole religious inheritance lest the virtues which are involved in the older traditions perish through your iconoclasm. This is a formidable task and a harassing one: *for one can never be quite sure where pedagogical caution ends and dishonesty begins.*” Fortunately he summarized his message in simple statements. One is found in Mark 12:28-34, Matthew 22:34-40, and Luke 10:25-28. It reads:

“And one of the scribes came up and heard them disputing with one another, and seeing that he answered them well asked him, Which commandment is the first of all?” Jesus answered, The first is, “Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.” The second is, “You shall love your neighbor as (you shall love) yourself. There is no other commandment greater than these.”

What Jesus did was to go back to the Law of his people and to quote two passages, one from Leviticus 19:18, “you shall love you neighbor as (you shall love) yourself”—and the other from Deuteronomy 6:5. He did not add to the law nor take away. He had discovered that it was all in their

holy book. It could be summarized in love of God and love of man.

The other statement of what is fundamental in religion is found in Matthew 7:12 and Luke 6:31. In the Matthew form it reads: "So, whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." In its Lucan form, we find: "And as you wish that men would do to you, do so to them."

It is important to observe that the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, or *Didache* combines these three statements (love of God, love of neighbor, and Golden Rule) into a single summary of the Way of Life: "First, thou shalt love the God who made thee, secondly, thy neighbor as thyself; and whatever thou wouldst not have done to thyself, do not thou to another." *Didache* 1:2; in this negative form inherited from Judaism, the Golden Rule went into Christian literature.

As for the Golden Rule being the sole possession of Christianity—as is sometime asserted—Braden¹ quotes it in both positive and negative form from the saying of Confucius. He might have gone on to quote it from nine or more world religions.

The so-called Apostolic Decree (Acts 15:20,29) adds the Golden Rule in the so-called Western text to the findings of the meeting at Jerusalem so that it reads, "Write them to abstain from pollutions of idols, and from the unchastity and from blood and *whatsoever they do not wish to be done to them let them not do to others.*"

It is as Waterman rightly discerns in *The Historical Jesus*:

"By means of these two formulae, Jesus had removed the antagonism between the ritualistic Law of

sacrifices and the ethical religion of right conduct in the sight of an ethical God by reducing all outward symbolical acts to terms of personal attitudes and actions whose sole effect upon God was at their best as the love of a child expressed to a parent."

"Here Christ's gospel takes definite structural form." (p. 118).

The Hebrew doctrine of God prior to the Christian era had culminated in the belief in his Fatherhood with the correlative ideas of sonship and brotherhood. God is Father both to the individual and the nation. "And I will be their Father, and they shall be my people." "Hear me your Father, O my children."

Jesus made the unbroken Fatherhood of God one of his fundamentals. He believed that the universe was friendly. Jesus taught that God may be loved and trusted because a true father is never vindictive and cannot deceive his child. Jesus approached the solution of all questions from the point of view of God and eternity. The sovereignty of God is the guarantee of life. The Father is interested in man and cares—"And yet God feeds them . . . how much more certainly will he clothe you." The Father's love need not be set free. It is the prodigal's thought of home that causes him to arise and go to his father. It is the Father's nature to forgive freely. His character is the standard for his children—"ye shall be complete in goodness, as your heavenly Father is complete." All who know the Father desire to cooperate with him, to be kind, to manifest good will. "You have heard the saying, 'You must love your neighbor and hate your enemy.'" But I tell you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, that you may be sons of your Father in heaven: he makes his sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain

on the just and the unjust." Jesus' teaching on man is exceedingly optimistic. Man is of infinite value. Sin cannot efface his worth. It is his duty to cultivate a sense of humor and perspective in judgment of his fellows and his outlook upon life. Man should always use his common sense. In planning his life he should allow for disappointments and mistakes. In judging, remember that the standards one sets up for others are the standards which will apply to him. True greatness is becoming like a child and properly estimating one's self. To be always matters more than to have. Man should regard his personality as of inestimable significance and therefore respect the personality of others. It is the duty of man to accept the challenge of sonship to God, to love his enemies, to pray for his persecutors, to become sons of the Father, who lets his sun shine upon the evil and the good and rain upon unrighteous as well as righteous men. In dealing with any problem of life never break with purity and love. One looks in vain for any hint of the theological considerations which characterize the church's judgment upon man. There is nothing here of the inferiority of man or despair regarding his ability to be a child of God.

A closer look at the underlying ethical assumptions of Jesus lets right living be a matter of attitude, motive, intention rather than culture and ritual and conformity. He emphasized four qualities: purity, love, humility, and heroism. Purity is genuineness, sincerity, keeping in touch with truth, chastity, freedom from hate, freedom from envy. For him love was all inclusive, good will, sympathy, ethical direction of the will, forgiving, and letting one's self be forgiven.

Humility is purity and love doing something about need. Humility is the oughtness of strength, is proper self-appraisal. The vice associated with humility is hypocrisy. The heroism of Jesus is of a brand new kind. It is the necessary action of

purity and love in the presence of injustice and wrong. One must always weigh the consequences of violence to one's self as well as to others.

Jesus did not know when the world would end.

"From the fig tree learn its lesson: as soon as its branch becomes tender and puts forth its leaves, you know that summer is near. So also, when you see these things taking place, you know that he is near, at the very gates. Truly I say to you, this generation will not pass away before all these things take place. Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away. But of that day or that hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, not the Son, *but only the Father*" (Mark 13:28-32).

Jesus' Confession of Faith

Luke 15:1-32

"Jesus' conception of God redeems, since fear and anxiety and foreboding care and grief vanish before a near, interested, forgiving, and helping God," Herrmann.

Our Prayers Are Our Judges

Luke 18:10-14

"Two men went up into the temple to pray, one a Pharisee and the other a publican. The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, 'God, I thank thee that I am not like other men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even like this collector of taxes. I fast twice a week. I give tithes of all that I get.' But the collector of taxes standing afar off would not even lift up his eyes to heaven, but beat his breast, saying, 'God be merciful to me a sinner!' I tell you this man went down to his house justified rather than the other."

*Forgiveness of men by God obligates man to forgive
fellowman*

Matthew 18:23-25

"Therefore the kingdom of heaven may be compared to a king who wished to settle accounts with his servants. When he began the reckoning, one was brought to him who owed him ten thousand talents; and as he could not pay, his lord ordered him to be sold, with his wife and children and all that he had, and payment to be made. So the servant fell on his knees, imploring him, 'Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay you everything.' And out of pity for him the lord of that servant released him and forgave him the debt. But that same servant, as he went out, came upon one of his fellow servants who owed him a hundred dinarii; and seizing him by the throat he said, 'Pay what you owe.' So his fellow servant fell down and besought him, 'Have patience with me, and I will pay you.' He refused and went and put him in prison till he should pay his debt. When his fellow servants saw what had taken place, they were greatly distressed, and they went and reported to their lord all that had taken place. Then his lord summoned him and said to him, 'You wicked servant! I forgave you all that debt because you besought me; and should not you have had mercy on your fellow servant, as I had mercy on you?' And in anger his lord delivered him to the jailers, till he should pay all his debt. So also my heavenly Father will do to every one of you, if you do not forgive your brother from your heart."

It is doubtful whether some of the early Christian Community ever fully reconstructed the Kingdom concept. Many a stray passage suggests they did not. "He went on to tell them a parable . . . as they imagined God's reign

would instantly come into view" (Luke 19:11) ". . . the royal power of Israel" (Micah 4:8). "Now when they met they asked him, Lord is this the time you are going to restore the Realm to Israel" (Acts 1:6) "Who must be kept in heaven until the period of the great Restorations" (Acts 3:21).

The Kingdom of Heaven, for Israel was something actual and tangible. It required the death of the first generation of Christians to efface this faith. "True Socialism is Jewish not Christian," says Eduard Grimm.

In 1941, Professor E. F. Scott, *Nature of the Early Church*, pointed out how very difficult it is to follow Jesus:

"If Christianity means obedience to the Sermon on the Mount, no one could ever hope to be a Christian."

"The religion of Jesus has never been put into action, *and cannot be.*"

"The church is not a society of people who have agreed to accept the ideas of Jesus and maintain and propagate them."

The Norwegian, Olav Sletto, thus paraphrased the ideal of Jesus: Jesus asked his disciples to take place on the grass and himself did likewise. For a long time he sat there in silence. Then he began:

I want to speak to you today regarding important matters, concerning matters to which you must give attention; for later on men will demand clear testimony from you. Hear, now, I tell you that men never have understood that which men should know most about: *life*. Go to the experts in the law and you will soon discover that these will let you stumble in darkness. What they tell you about life is erroneous, for our scribes do not comprehend the meaning of life. And when they come to the people you observe that their knowing originated in darkness. They are not better than the world rulers, the Romans. For power and splendor and wealth con-

stitute for them the content of life. Folks are so narrow, so provincial. And it would be hopeless if now a time of power were not coming, of power to make souls great and honorable, so that eternal matters and thought could find room in them. The time has come. The kingdom came full of power to accomplish. With us who sit here, the kingdom came. I am the messenger and I called you, peasants and fishermen of Galilee, under the sign. A little longer you must be silent and learn. Hear, what I now tell you. Israel has experienced periods of greatness and of pain. Its fate has varied. Now the moment has come when the people should serve. For the first time, Israel should serve humanity. Thus we and they shall serve the peoples. For the kingdom, the conquering kingdom came with us. But the kingdom of God is not Jewish—it is the kingdom of humanity on earth. It is the world kingdom. To this kingdom every people is elected. Every nation has the promise that it shall inherit and not be neglected.

Because the king of this kingdom is God, and all men are to be servants of God, the members of this kingdom are no longer lords of others but brothers among brethren. Remember this.

Behold, the kingdom of God has other laws than those recognized by this world. The difference is tremendous. And if the world desires to reach the good, it must turn about and return at once. The world has innumerable laws, and they age and change. The kingdom of heaven has few laws, only three, eternal, unchanging, fundamental principles. And they are these:

The Creator's will over the human will. This is the first thing. Love thy neighbor as thy self, that is the second point. The third principle I announce as the explanation of the other two: Thou must suffer in the world and walk the path of service. More laws man needs not.

As now in the kingdom of truth the laws are different, so also all things are there measured in a different way than in the world. There are different standards. What is regarded as small and valueless in the world is rated honorable and dear in the kingdom of truth. So great is the chasm between them.

Our watchword which all that belong to the kingdom should use as a sign that we know one another is: Love and serve. And with this battle cry our hosts are to conquer the enemy.

3. Jesus and Miracle

Popular stories regarding the activity of Jesus had to characterize it as miraculous.

A life of Jesus without miracle would have been under suspicion as stemming from a cultured group of intellectuals and rather incapable of influencing the people who called for the miraculous.

Originally in primitive religion miracle does not mean an exception to the laws of nature. Rather everything is miracle which expresses power. Then every activity of deity is miracle. Only then does the idea of the exceptional, the extraordinary appear. The Buddha protests miracle without religious significance. In the primitive world the religious importance of miracle is the principal emphasis. Miracle is a sign of the power of God. The view of God determines whether miracle is self-manifesting power or the act of a personal deity.

Miracle is intimately associated with prophecy. Miracle and prophecy are the confirmation of the divine upon earth. The story of the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy in the life of Jesus had modified that life considerably. The

church at Jerusalem, it is admitted today laid the foundation of this theory. Daniel 7:13, "I saw in the night visions, and behold, with the clouds of heaven there came one like a *Son of man*, and he came to the Ancient of Days and was presented before him" made it reasonable to find the exalted Messiah foretold in the Old Testament. Psalm 110 is likewise often used. Paul applies Psalm 8:6, "Thou hast put all things under his feet," (that is the sheep and the oxen, beasts of the field, birds of the air, and fish of the sea), to the Son. Maybe he learned this method of allegorization from the Jerusalem church. Psalm 2:7 contains the celebrated passage "you are my Son, today have I become your father" which was interpreted messianically by the church.

In Judaism, there is an abundance of material available for the study of miracle-demon possession, resurrection of the dead, healing at a distance, answers to prayer for rain and healing, prophecy, second sight, the fretted walls of a house,² the change of water to wine, magic, voices. The saints, the ascetics, the prophets had supernatural powers. Mystic speculations, ability to enter paradise are mentioned. Messiah and miracle belong together.

In the Graeco-Roman environment, it is no different. Alexander of Abonoteichos, a fraudulent miracle worker exposed by Lucian, gave oracles and prescriptions for all sicknesses. His cult had exegetes, interpreters of the oracles of Glykon, the snake god, servants of the temple who celebrated the god of healing in hymns, apostles who took care of propaganda. Coins show that the oracles continued after his death to the third century. He had died about A.D. 175.

The temples of Asclepios filled the world. In them the people who were sick slept and in their dreams were immediately healed by the deity or given directions to effect a cure. Read any religious dictionary under incubation. The

interpreters of the drama were the priests. In the Hellenistic world and imperial period these temples were increasingly popular. Epidauros, for example, was a name to conjure with. Volumes were written about the cure of the blind and resurrections from the dead, not to mention the miracles that were topics of conversation in every remote village. Everything occurring among Christians could be paralleled among the pagan population. As in the name of Jesus there were wonders, healing, demon expulsions, see Acts 3:6, 3:16 and 4:7,10; 16:18, 19:13; Mark 9:38, 16:17; Matthew 7:22, so in the name of some pagan healer signs and wonders were wrought. The competition between pagan and Christian healers was intense.

There were different kinds of miracles assigned to Jesus. There are stories which show that Jesus taught as he healed. Such are the healing of the paralytic, the man with a lame hand, the dropsical man. There are narratives in which the miracle is an end in itself. Such are the Gadarene demonica, the daughter of Jairus, the epileptic boy, most of the so-called nature miracles. They report how Jesus did it. How he asked the demon his name; how he used spittle to affect the cure; how the cure was shown. Here it is possible that the ancient way of recording a miracle played into the situation, that is, that the original tradition was modified by the environment. The original tradition is more certain in case of the first class of miracles.

The oldest tradition is relatively free from an emphasis upon Miracle. The sayings source had to reject many legends already in circulation. They must have been regarded as indecisive. The story of the passion of Jesus is the oldest connected narrative of his life and is almost entirely without reference to the miraculous. The special source of Luke contains very little of the miraculous. In Mark the significant

discussion about authority (11:27-33) and the sections on marriage and divorce, "suffer little children," the rich young man (10:1-31) are wholly free from the miraculous. Then when Jerusalem Christians became convinced that miracle was essential historically or dogmatically to give a rounded picture they gave attention first to the exorcism of demons and cure of the sick and then passed on to the more involved miracle. The Old Testament did not play an important role in the development of the miraculous.

How is the striking failure of his message to be explained? The answer of his followers was: *the messianic secret*. Jesus did not desire that the Jewish people should believe. So he both revealed and concealed his messianic characteristics. Jesus exorcized the demons because they recognized him—"and immediately there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit; and he cried out, 'What have you to do with us, Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come to destroy us? I know who you are, the Holy One of God;'" "and he healed many who were sick with various diseases and cast out many demons, and he would not permit the demons to speak because they knew him;" "and whenever the unclean spirits beheld him, they fell down before him and cried out, 'you are the Son of God.' And he strictly ordered them not to make him known;" "And they came to the other side of the sea, into the country of the Gerasenes. And when he was come out of the boat, straightway there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling in the tombs: and no man could any more bind him, no, not with a chain; because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been rent asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces: and no man had strength to tame him. And always, night and day, in the tombs and in the mountains, he was crying out, and cutting

himself with stones. And when he saw Jesus from afar, he ran and worshipped him; and crying out with a loud voice, he saith, *What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God? I adjure thee by God, torment me not.* For he said unto him, Come forth, thou unclean spirit, out of the man. And he asked him, What is your name? And he saith unto him, My name is Legion; for we are many. And he besought him much that he would not send them away out of the country. Now there was there on the mountain side a great herd of swine feeding. And they besought him, saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And he gave them leave."

Of course one cannot be so rash as to conclude that no Christians differed from the great majority, lest the section in the Utopia of Thomas More regarding euthanasia contradict us:

"... if the disease be not only incurable but also full of continual pain and anguish, the priests and magistrates exhort the man, seeing he is not able to do any duty of life, and by overliving his own death is noisome and irksome to others and grievous to himself no longer to cherish that pestilent and painful disease. And seeing his life is to him but a torment, that he will not be unwilling to die, but rather to take a good hope to him, and either dispatch himself out of that pain, as out of a prison, or a rack of torment, or else suffer himself willingly to be rid of it by others and in so doing, they tell him he shall do wisely, seeing by his death he shall lose no commodity, but end his pain. And because in the act he shall follow the counsel of the priests, that is to say, of the interpreters of God's will and pleasure, they shew him that he shall

do like a godly and virtuous man. They that be thus persuaded finish their lives willingly, either with hunger or else die in their sleep without any feeling of death. But they cause none such to die against his will, nor do they use less diligence and attendance about him: believing this to be an honorable death."

There are always many sick persons around religious healers some of whom have been helped. Religion and faith may be said to account at least for some temporary cures.

"Many signs and marvels continued to be done among the people by the apostles; and by common consent they all met in Solomon's Portico." (Acts 5:12).

"Peter's Shadow"

"So that they would even bring their sick friends into the streets and lay them on light couches or mats, in order that when Peter came by at least his shadow might fall on one or other of them" (Acts 5:15).

4. Did Jesus Employ his Parables to Hide his Real Aims?

Mark says that Jesus spoke parables to confuse the masses, that he was enunciating deeper meanings and must explain the mystery to his disciples. "And when he was alone, those who were about him with the twelve asked him concerning the parables. And he said to them, 'To you has been given the secret of the Kingdom of God, but for those outside everything is in parables; so that they may indeed see and not perceive, and may indeed hear but not understand; lest they should turn again, and be forgiven.'"³

On another occasion, Mark says: "With many such para-

bles he spoke the word to them, as they were able to hear it; and he did not speak to them without a parable, but privately to his own disciples he explained everything.”⁴

Even the disciples are described as not comprehending Jesus. Although the glory of Jesus was revealed to them, they did not understand it at all. Only after his death as the new community solves the problem of his messiahship, looking back upon his life and believing does it discover his secret.

“All this Jesus spoke to the people in parable and except in parable He spoke nothing to them, *in fulfilment of the saying of the prophet, ‘I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things kept hidden since the creation of all things.’*”⁵

This is the Old Testament mandate to Jesus to use parables as his method:

“And His disciples came and asked Him

‘Why do you speak to them in parables?’

‘Because,’ He replied, ‘while to you it is granted to know the secrets of the Kingdom of heaven, to them it is not. For whoever has, to him more shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but whoever has not, from him even what he has shall be taken away. I speak to them in parables for this reason, that while looking they do not see, and while hearing they neither hear nor understand. And in regard to them the prophecy of Isaiah is being fulfilled:

‘You will hear and hear and by no means understand, and you will look and look and by no means see. For this people’s mind is stupefied, their hearing has become dull, and their eyes have closed; Lest they should ever see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their minds, and turn back, so that I might heal them’ (Isaiah 6:9,10). ‘But as for you, blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears,

for they hear. For I tell you in truth that many Prophets and holy men have longed to see the sights you see, and have not seen them, and to hear the words you hear, and have not heard them.' ”⁶

The synoptic gospels were written many years after the death of Jesus and because of these statements have been both misunderstood and appreciated. The Jewish people had by that date as a group failed to accept Jesus. Since then it has been discerned that most of Jesus' parables are of the pure variety and rightly interpreted not as allegories but as one self-evident story. Jesus spoke parables that people might understand him, not to conceal thoughts from them. Of course, a parable partakes of the nature of a riddle and is occasionally subject to different interpretations. But Juelicher rates as a very dependable guide and one cannot go far astray in adopting this course.

5. Pilate Passes the Sentence of Death upon Jesus.

Hans Lietzmann concluded that what happened at Jerusalem at the trial of Jesus, was, as follows:

“Jesus came to Jerusalem as one having authority from God . . . The Jewish authorities had good reason not to try to get him condemned on any religious grounds . . . so they chose the more convenient way of arresting him and handing him over to Pilate under the charge of disturbing public order as a ‘messianic’ pretender to the Jewish throne . . . Jesus was condemned as a revolutionary and accordingly crucified.”

In the circle about Jesus, among his disciples and the fringe group, things were becoming tense at Caesarea Phil-

ippi. Finally, Jesus spoke to them, "Who do men say that I am?" "John the Baptist, Elijah; a returned prophet." So they had debated the matter. It was time to make them squarely face up to the situation that had developed. "And you—Who do you say I am?" Peter confessed, "You are the Messiah." Keep it a secret was the command of Jesus. Instead, the sons of Zebedee, John and James, tried to arrange for a place of honor, "one on thy right hand, and one on thy left hand in thy glory."

The narrative recorded in Mark 8:27-30, known as *Peter's Confession*, is "an Easter story projected backward into the Lifetime of Jesus,"⁷ when the church regarded this life as messianic. The life and work of Jesus was actually not messianic. As the expansion of the story of the baptism of Jesus arose when the Jerusalem eschatological fellowship had come to regard him as Messiah and the transfiguration story dates the messiahship of Jesus from the resurrection.

A hymn to Christ written by Paul at a much later time regards Jesus' life "as that of a mere man, without messianic glory."

"Though he possessed the nature of God, he did not grasp at equality with God, but laid it aside to take on the nature of a slave and become like other men. When he had assumed human form, he still further humbled himself and carried his obedience so far as to die, and to die upon the cross. That is why God has so greatly exalted him, and given him the name above all others, so that in the name of Jesus everyone should kneel, in heaven and on earth and in the underworld, and everyone should acknowledge Jesus Christ as Lord, and thus glorify God the Father."⁸

Romans 1:4 also dates Jesus' messiahship from the resurrection:

"Paul a servant of Jesus Christ, called as an apostle, set

apart to declare God's good news, which he promised long ago through his prophets in the holy Scriptures, about his Son who was physically descended from David, and decisively marked out Son of God after resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord. . . ."

It was Martin Dibelius who in his *From Tradition to Gospel* observed that the one event the Christian community had to explain to both Jew and Gentile was the ignominious death of its founder. This was essential to survival. All else was at first incidental. The story of the passion of Jesus is the only bit of early Christian tradition which soon assumed extended and continuous form. The synoptic writers devote much space to it.

What is of far greater significance, the Gospel according to John accustomed to go its own way and contribute reinterpretations, at this point follows tradition much more closely. Since the death of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is a going to the Father, one might have anticipated a different trend. Apparently, the Christian tradition of the passion was so fixed and so authoritative that any completely independent interpretation was ruled out.

The story of the crucifixion even in its pre-Markan and Markan form betrays slight interest in history. *It was preaching, not philosophy or history.* It did not depict Jesus as a hero or as patient in the midst of humiliation and suffering. It simply narrated what had taken place. Turn to any synopsis of the gospels to see how color is added as one advances from Mark to John. The story of the passion was transmitted within the framework of preaching and worship.

Our quest is the earlier form of the passion narrative. To recover it, the point of departure will be an examination of the passion story according to Mark with its indications of editing. The excision of Markan additions will yield an

earlier form of the passion narrative and by further historical considerations a still more primary form of the passion narrative will be obtained.

To appreciate the development of the narrative of the passion of Jesus from Calvary to Mark, one ought first carefully to read the account in the Gospel according to Mark. The following simple outline may help the reader to retain the principal emphasis in mind: 1. The plot of the rulers and Judas (Mark 14:1,2,10,11); 2. The anointing of Jesus (14:3-9); 3. The last supper (14:12-31); 4. The agony in Gethsemane (14:32-42); 5. The betrayal and arrest (14:43-52); 6. The hearing before the Jewish authorities (14:53-72); 7. The trial before Pilate (15:1-20); 8. The crucifixion of Jesus (15:21-42); 9. The burial of Jesus (15:42-47); 10. The empty tomb (16:1-8). There follows the unauthentic ending of Mark 16:9-20.

Regarding the description of the death of Jesus in the Gospel according to Mark with a view to *discovering the Old Testament basis*, various methods of employing the Scriptures are discernible.

Events are referred to as fulfillments of the Scriptures but no citation appears. "For the Son of man goeth even as it is written of him;" "I was daily with you in the temple, preaching, and ye took me not: but this is done that the scriptures might be fulfilled."⁹

In one instance both a formula of citation and the Old Testament passage appear. "And Jesus saith unto them, All ye shall be offended; *for it is written*, I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered abroad."¹⁰

In Mark 15:34, the citation from the Old Testament appears *without the formula of citation*. "Jesus cried with a loud voice, Eloi, Eloi lema sabachthani? Which is being interpreted, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

By far the greater employment of the Old Testament is indirect. Words and situations are colored or suggested by the Old Testament background. The narrative is brought into correspondence with the Old Testament. Invention is resorted to for the purpose of insuring the agreement of the passion of Jesus with what is assumed to be its prediction. Matthew 26:15 and 27:7, "And they weighed him thirty pieces of silver;" "And they took counsel and bought with them the potter's field to bury strangers in," closely resemble Zechariah 11:12,13:

"And I said unto them, if ye think good, give me my price; and if not forbear. So they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver.

"And the Lord said unto me, Cast it unto the potter; and goodly price that I was prized at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the Lord."

The tyro in the criticism of the gospels must readily grant that Mark added such expressions as "straightway" in Chapter 15:1 and "which is the Praetorium" in 15:16.

The section on the anointing of Jesus (14:3-9) not only interrupts the context but is not concerned with the passion. Mark located it here and gave it the interpretation found in verse 9.

The last meal of Chapter 14:17ff was given its present setting, 14:12-16, by the evangelist. Originally, it was only a Jewish kiddush. Contemporary Judaism was accustomed to celebrate a domestic ceremony in the course of which a cup of wine and some bread were blessed and thereupon distributed to the household. Such a *kiddush* might take place just before the beginning of the sabbath or prior to such

festivals as the passover. By this observance, the "holiness of the sabbath or of a festival was proclaimed" and magnified. The prayer of thanksgiving concluding such a service might begin, "Blessed be thou, O Lord, our God, King of the world, creator of the fruit of the vine."

This last meal of Jesus with his disciples *occurred before the passover*. It was made a paschal meal by the predecessors of Mark. It contradicts 14:1ff. Likewise, the words of Jesus uttered in connection with the regular and simple eating and drinking have been expanded to their Lord's Supper form. Jesus said: "Take ye" and verily, I say unto you, "I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God."

The announcement of verse 28, "Howbeit, after I am raised up, I will go before you into Galilee," and the Peter-episode of the following verses were not originally in the story of the passion which was concerned with what happened to Jesus.

An editor would normally add such information as is given in verses 51f. "And a certain young man followed with him, having a linen cloth cast about him over his naked body: and they lay hold on him; but he left the linen cloth, and fled naked." *It may be dependable tradition in spite of resemblance to Amos 2:16*. Similarly, for the statement in 15-21, "And they compel one passing by, Simon of Cyrene, coming from the country, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to go with them, that he might bear his cross," the evangelist has responsibility.

For the hearing before the Jewish authorities, 14:54-72, there was no eyewitness and no early dependable historical tradition lies back of it. If this had occurred, there would not have been a trial before Pilate, and Jesus would have been stoned to death.

In verses 38 and 39 of Chapter 15, Mark had added a very

dramatic climax to the story of the crucifixion. The statement, "And the veil of the temple was rent in two from top to bottom," was inserted as the dramatic testimony of the Jewish temple itself that the death of Jesus marked a decisive turn in history. The statement indicates that the Gospel of Mark was written after A.D. 70, for it was after the destruction of the temple that a tradition developed among the Jews to the effect that some years earlier the doors of the temple had opened themselves miraculously, apparently to indicate the withdrawal of the deity. Let Josephus relate what occurred:

The eastern gate of the inner court of the temple, which was of brass and had been with difficulty shut at evening by twenty men, and rested upon beams armed with iron, and had bolts very deep into the firm floor, *was seen to be opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night . . .* the men of learning understood that the security of their holy house was dissolved of its own accord. And that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. *So these privately declared that the signal foreshadowed the desolation that was coming upon them.*

The declaration, "And when the centurion who stood over against him saw that he cried out and gave up the ghost, he said, truly this man was the Son of God," was added as the confession of the Gentile world to the divine validity of the death of Jesus. This was the conversion of the first Gentile!

Verses 40ff of Chapter 15 prepare for the story of Mark 16:1ff. The editor's hand can be detected in the explanations of verses 42-47.

In Mark 16:18, the evangelist substitutes a later tradition

for what at first must have been a narrative of an appearance to Peter in Galilee. *For Mark 14:28 and 16:7 as well as the fragment of the Gospel of Peter and I Corinthians 15:4 demonstrate that the original Jerusalem narrative regarding Jesus' survival of death involved a vision of Peter in Galilee.*

Now in the story of the passion of Jesus as it reached Mark, the primary stratum had already been overlaid with a secondary stratum of tradition. To this secondary stratum in existence prior to Mark, attention may now be given. It consists of the insertion of passages from the Old Testament by the early eschatological brotherhood at Jerusalem into the story of the passion of Jesus to strengthen its case. *The Christians confirmed their reminiscences of what had occurred at the crucifixion by discovering them in the Old Testament.* The scriptures, on the other hand, colored and suggested and expanded the description of the passion. The Old Testament was interwoven with the original passion narrative, seriously modifying it and even determining its form. Psalm 22, 31, and 69 and Isaiah 53 were early appropriated by the church for the fuller story of the death of Jesus.

Pilate hesitates but in the end condemns Jesus: "So Pilate, wishing to satisfy the crowd, released for them Barabbas, and having scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified." (Mark 15:15)

The Gospel of Mark relates the burial of Jesus in these words:

"And when even was now come, because it was the Preparation, that is the day before the sabbath, there came Joseph of Arimathaea, a councillor of honorable estate, who also himself was looking for the kingdom of God; and he boldly went in unto Pilate,

and asked for the body of Jesus. And Pilate marvelled if he were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead. And when he learned it of the centurion, he granted the corpse to Joseph. And he brought a linen cloth, and taking him down, wound him in the linen cloth, and laid him in a tomb which had been hewn out of rock; and he rolled a stone against the door of the tomb."

Mark's gospel implies that Jesus first reappeared after his death in Galilee: "But after I am raised up, I will go before you to Galilee;" "But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee, there you will see him," (Mark 14:28, 16:7).

In the last year of the eleventh century a Syrian Christian informed a western priest that the Gospel of Peter had predicted the first crusade. As late as the eleventh century, then, some Christians held this gospel in high regard. In the eighth century it was still in circulation. Theodoret supplies the information that it was used by Jewish Christians living in Syria in the fifth century. In the time of Serapion, bishop of Antioch, the gospel of Peter was used in public worship by the church at Rhossos. *This gospel is dated about 130-150.* A fragment was discovered in an Egyptian tomb late in the nineteenth century. It contains the narrative of the passion from the trial before the Roman procurator to the resurrection. The interesting point is that it follows the Gospel of Mark for the story of the resurrection. If a comparison of the Gospel of Peter and our four gospels covering Mark 16:1-8 is made, it is readily discernible that the Gospel of Mark is the source of the gospel of Peter. The original conclusion of Mark's gospel has disappeared. Some manuscripts

terminate at Mark 16:8; some give us the present or "longer conclusion," some give a shorter conclusion; another gives two conclusions, and the Freer-Washington manuscript has the present conclusion plus the following insertion:

"And they answered, saying, 'This age of unrighteousness and unbelief is under the (power of) Satan, which does not permit the things which are (made) impure by the (evil) spirits to comprehend the truth of God (and) his power. For this reason reveal thy righteousness now,' they said to Christ, and Christ replied to them: 'The limit of the years of the power of Satan has been fulfilled, but other terrible things are near at hand; and I was delivered unto death on behalf of those who sinned, in order that they may return to the truth and sin no more, to the end that they may inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness (which is) in heaven. But go ye into all the world,' " etc. (Sanders' translation)

Some scholars think the Gospel of Peter still used the original conclusion of the Gospel of Mark for the remainder of the resurrection narrative. The fragment continues:

"Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many went forth returning to their homes, as the feast ended. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and were grieved: and each one grieving for that which was come to pass departed to his home. But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew, my brother, took our nets and went away to the sea; and there was with us Levi, the son of Alphaeus, who the Lord . . ."

Unfortunately the fragment breaks off here, else we might be in possession of an ending nearer the original conclusion of Mark's gospel than any we now possess.

However that may be, the gospels represent Jesus as having truly died. Very early Christian tradition assigns the

resurrection to the third day. Was that according to the popular view that disintegration then sets in? The return to life was "according to the Scriptures." The appearances were, according to Paul: To Cephas (Peter), the "twelve," more than 500 brothers all at once, James, all of the apostles, last of all to Paul, who claims that his seeing had the same evidential value as all that preceded and made him a competent witness to the resurrection.

"Appearance" on the one hand and "visions and revelation" on the other are different experiences. The appearances came to an end with Paul's.

Mark's gospel ends at 16:8 with no one having seen Jesus but with the announcement that he would appear to them in Galilee. Whether the gospel lost its ending in an accidental manner, whether it was mutilated because not in accordance with the later tradition of the church, the conclusions extant merely represent different attempts to supply the deficiency.

In Matthew, Jesus speaks, the resurrection is material, and the direction to go to Galilee is repeated; at the meeting in Galilee, some doubted.

In Luke, Mary of Magdala, Joanna, Mary mother of Jesus, "and the rest of the women," find the tomb empty and tell the "Eleven and *all the others*." Peter goes to the tomb and finds it empty and wonders what has happened. On that very day, two are on way to Emmaus when they are joined by a stranger whom they tell: "but he is dead and that is three days ago." Women gave them a surprise by stating they had seen a vision of angels declaring he was alive. Going to the tomb, *they did not see him*. At the breaking of the bread, *they recognized him—but he vanished from their sight*. Going to Jerusalem they found the eleven and others gathered and were told: "*the Lord had really risen and appeared to Simon*." (v. 34) Jesus stands among them. (v. 36) The

disciples doubt. Jesus eats in their presence. Jesus ascends at Bethany.

The various accounts of the resurrection cannot be harmonized.

Paul's view of the resurrection in I Corinthians 15 rejects the reanimation of the physical body. The after-death body is a *soma-pneumatikon*. Flesh and blood cannot inherit eternal life. The narratives in the closing chapters of Matthew, Luke and John represent a much later Christian faith than I Corinthians 15. This later Christian faith regarding the reanimation of the physical body of Jesus issued from later theological reflection and environmental demand, for the church found it more and more difficult to think of a risen Lord without a body. The Docetists argued that Jesus had never had a physical body. They contended that while the crucifixion was going on, Jesus was sitting on the Mount of Olives in conversation with his disciples. To establish identity between Christ and Jesus, Christians began to insist upon the necessity of a physical return from the dead. Thus the Greeks believed in *natural immortality*; Paul, *in a spiritual body*; the later orthodox church *in the return of the physical body from the grave*: "For I know and believed that He was in the flesh even after the Resurrection, and when He came to Peter, and his company, He said to them. 'Lay hold and handle me, and see that I am not a demon without a body,' and straightway they touched Him . . . and after His resurrection He ate with them, and drank with them, as one in the flesh." (Ignatius, Smyrneans, 3).

Not one of Jesus' *critics with one exception* (Paul) saw him after his death. The experience was within the beloved circle. Paul equates Christ's manifestation to him with that to the earlier apostles. If the historian can ascertain how and what Paul saw he may answer the question as to how they

saw. This reverses the usual procedure. The recognition of the existence of different points of view within the New Testament regarding Jesus' survival of death is no modern discovery, since Chrysostom says: "It is worth inquiring how an incorruptible body showed the prints of the nails and was tangible by a mortal hand." (Homily on John LXXXVII).

Mass visions are historically and psychologically no more difficult to explain than solitary visions. Compare Thomas A. Becket, Savonarola, the Camissards, the soldiers at Mons, groups of ministers at seances. The resurrection faith in its earliest form arose very soon after the crucifixion. Power of the personality of Jesus produced it. The succession and number of appearances is a matter of debate. The faith of the earliest church was genuine that the founder of Christianity had not ended in death. The crucifixion had not cancelled Jesus.

Karl Barth in his *Resurrection of the Dead*, page 79, holds that Christ's resurrection is a "fact as ambiguous as are all earthly facts. He might even have been stolen. He might never have been really dead at all. The gospels themselves never make the least effort to conceal the fact that the empty tomb was something *toto caelo* different from seeing the Risen One; and it is not to the credit of Christian Theology that it should ever have occurred to anyone hotly to argue over this tomb in a critical or apologetic interest . . . The gospels themselves showing greater wisdom than did the men of a later time, draw no positive conclusions whatever from the mere fact that such and such things were seen."

CHAPTER II

THE INTERIM CONGREGATION, OR ESCHATOLOGICAL BROTHERHOOD IS ORGANIZED AT JERUSALEM.

6. *The Eschatological Brotherhood Is Forthwith Compelled to Examine Such Passages in its Holy Book which Might Prove of Value to Them to Establish its Claims.*

This was indeed a Bible reading society. A careful student of quotations from the Old Testament found in the New Testament surprised Christians some twenty-one years ago with his findings, when he discovered that the first generation of Christians quoted 200 times from the Old Testament to once from Jesus; the second generation, 100 times from the Old Testament to 10 times from Jesus; the third generation, 100 times from the Old Testament¹ to 150 times from Jesus.²

The noted Greek Church father of the second century, Ignatius, put the principle in classical form and indicates the high regard in which the only Bible was held by the first

Christians by uttering the following statement: "If I find it not in the *archives*,³ I do not believe in the gospels."⁴ The Bible with which the earliest "Christian" community started was the Jewish Bible. It was all they had. *They misquoted many passages but never knew it. For example*, the passage concerning Judas:

"Now Judas, having bought a piece of ground with the money paid him for his wickedness, fell there with his face downwards, *For it was written* in the Book of Psalms,

"Let his habitation be desolate:

Let there be no one to dwell there;"⁵

and His work let another take up."⁶

Thus they find in the Psalms "predicted" two passages which foretell what would happen to Judas and who should be his successor. Needless to say these passages have nothing whatever to do originally with Judas or his foul deed:

And Jesus said to them, "you will all fall away; *for it is written*, 'I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered.'" Mark 14:27

"*Strike the shepherd, that the sheep may be scattered; I will turn my hand against the little ones.*" Zechariah 13:7

"*For it is written*" is the regular formula of citation from the Old Testament, but the second part of the verse is not found. This is not a happy suggestion at all.

Later even Christianity, "in addition to the New Testament, was forced to accept unchanged the whole of the Old Testament as Canonical Scripture, as sign that the New Testament alone did not suffice." In spite of Marcion, Christianity of the first and second century had employed allegorical method on its Old Testament to be able to use it. The

concept of New Testament inspiration was *secondary*, derived from that of the Old Testament, see II Timothy 3:14-17. Christianity remained an Old Testament-New Testament religion.

Take these references from the Passion story as they are found in Mark 15 and observe how they do not agree with the text of Mark. Crucifixion was not a word of the Jewish vocabulary!

Mark 15:19ff

And they smote his head with a reed, and spat upon him, and bowing their knees worshipped him and then mocked him.

Mark 15:24

And part his garments among them, casting lots upon them, what each should take.

Mark 15:27

And with him they *crucified* two robbers.

Mark 15:29,36

And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads and saying . . . save thyself and come down from the cross, etc. . . . Let be; let us see whether Elijah cometh to take him down.

Mark 15:32

And they that were crucified with him reproached him.

Mark 15:34,37

Jesus cried with a loud voice.

Mark 15:36

And one ran, and filling a sponge full of vinegar, put it on a reed and gave him drink.

Isaiah 50:6

I gave my back to the smiters and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting.

Psalm 22:18

They part my garments among them and cast lots upon my vesture.

Isaiah 53:12

He was numbered among the transgressors.

Psalm 22:7ff

All they that see me laugh to scorn; they shout out their lips they shake their head saying: He should deliver him, seeing he delighted in him.

Psalm 69:9

The reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen upon me.

Psalm 22:24; 31:22; 69:3

And when he cried unto him: when I cried unto thee: I am weary of crying.

Psalm 69:21

They gave me poison for food, and for my throat they gave me vinegar to drink.

Or take the following passages from the Fourth Gospel 2:18 and 20:3-10.

So the Jews asked Him,

‘What authority can you show us for doing this?’
‘Demolish this Sanctuary,’ said Jesus, ‘and in three days I will rebuild it.’

‘It has taken forty-six years,’ replied the Jews, ‘to build this Sanctuary, and will you rebuild it in three days?’

But He was speaking of the Sanctuary of His body. When, however, He had risen from the dead, His disciples recollected that He had said this; and they believed the Scripture and the words which Jesus had spoken to them.

Peter and the other disciple started at once to go to the tomb, both of them running, but the other disciple ran faster than Peter and reached it before him. Stooping and looking in, he saw the linen cloths lying there on the floor, but he did not go in. Simon Peter, however, also came, following him, and entered the tomb. There on the floor he saw the cloths; and the towel, which had been placed over the face of Jesus, not lying with the cloths, but folded up and put by itself. Then the other disciple, who had been the first to come to the tomb, also went in and saw and was convinced. *For until now they had not understood the Scripture, that He must rise again from the dead.*

To think that Weymouth should take Psalm 16:10: “for thou dost not give me up to Sheol, or let thy godly one see the Pit,” have any concern with the resurrection.

There is a very important quotation from Joel 2:28-32 at Acts 2:14. Peter is represented as speaking for the disciples: "But Peter, however, together with the eleven, stood up and addressed them in a loud voice. 'Men of Judaea, and all you inhabitants of Jerusalem,' he said, 'let this be known to you, and attend to what I say. These men are not drunken, as you suppose, it being only nine o'clock in the morning. But that which was predicted through the Prophet Joel has happened.'"

Now Peter begins with a line which does not come from the Old Testament at all.

"In the last days, saith God,"

This is not found in the Old Testament! Peter believes in the last day then, the end of the world is approaching! But God does not say so! So he as any preacher today would do lets the powerful words appear as God words! He does the same thing at verse eighteen and inserts; "*and they shall prophesy.*" Similarly "*above*" after in heaven and *below* after on earth in addition to *signs* are all insertions!

The remainder of the address is authentic:

Then will I pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh, your sons and daughters shall prophesy, your young men shall see visions, your old men shall dream dreams: on my very slaves and slavegirls in those days will I pour out my Spirit, And I will display wonders in heaven And on earth, blood and fire and vapor of smoke: the sun shall be changed into darkness and the moon into blood, ere the great, open Day of the Lord arrives: and everyone who invokes the name of the word shall be saved.

Even Paul is never satisfied he has proved a point conclusively until he can quote some Old Testament verse in its

favor. And it matters not that the original intention of the Old Testament passage may be antithetical to its New Testament application. What, for instance, has Isaiah 28:10f to do with the phenomena of speaking in tongues in the church of Corinth? None whatever, of course. But Paul must have his confirmatory passage from the Old Testament! And he finds it in Isaiah 28. The prophets and priests are very drunk, reeling with wine and staggering with strong drink and vomiting until "all the tables are full of vomit, no place is without filthiness." The confused shrieks and chants of the drunken priests and prophets of Isaiah's day simply reminded Paul of the unbridled enthusiasm that characterized the meetings of the tongue Corinth!

In Galatians 3:16, Now the Promises were made to Abraham *and* to his *offspring*; and it said not, 'and to your offsprings,' in the plural, but in the singular '*and to your offspring*—which is Christ.' But Paul knew very well that his argument did not have hold. For Hebrews had no word by which the equivalent of seed could be formed in the sense of a plural of seed. Paul himself proved the point. When seed is used as a plural for human offspring it must be offspring. Offspring—one or many descendants!

In Corinthians 15:3 we read "that Christ died for our sins *according to the Scriptures* that he was raised on the third day *in accordance with the Scriptures!*" This gives the reason for the prolonged search for the raising on the third day.

There are two passages in the Fourth Gospel which indicate how serious the exact translation of Old Testament was. John 5:39 and 7:42. One reads "You search the Scriptures, imagining you possess eternal life in their pages . . .," and "Does not scripture say it is *from the offspring of David*, *from David's village of Bethlehem*, that the Christ is to

come?" The New Testament was linked to the Old Testament so closely that Marcion could not sever the bond. The Christian case was demonstrated by appeal to the Jewish Holy Book. The Jewish Old Testament had become a Christian archive.

Thus by allegorization the Old Testament can be made to prove any Christian contention. And there are only four writings of the New Testament that have no quotations from the Old Testament—the three epistles of John and the little love note to Philemon. The gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke contain a total of 298 quotes. The fourth gospel quotes 27 times from the Jewish scriptures, five times without any formula of introduction. The authentic letters of Paul contain 201 quotations from the Jewish Bible. Revelation has 487; Acts, 138; Hebrews 100; I Peter, 39; II Peter 5; I Timothy, II Timothy, Titus, a total of 10.

7. The Production of the New Testament.

The primitive Christian community regarded its earliest holy Book as the Old Testament. It did not bear that name until 180, the first recognized instance of its appearance. From that moment onward, there have been two holy books in existence: Old Testament and a New Testament—the Old Testament being 1031 pages; the New Testament being 340 pages or the ratio of about 3 to 1. At a much later date, A.D. 1835, the serious historical study of the two parts of the Bible was begun, reaching very different conclusions for authorship and meaning and resulting in many bitter quarrels as to authorship and yielding a practically new volume. The results of the historical investigation of the Bible are now slowly becoming available in every denomination in even

greater number and substantial harmony of understanding is at last being achieved.

The conclusion of numerous competent scholars is that the earliest synoptic gospel is Mark. This is largely a narrative source. Matthew and Luke were later and used Mark for their framework. In addition to Mark, they used other sources, one of which was Q, *Quelle*. The argument for the priority of Mark in the words of Wrede is, "I agree with Holtzmann—and I may add with Wernle—completely when he observes that the strength of the Markan hypothesis lies essentially in this that the sequences of the narratives of Matthew and Luke were derived from the sequences of Mark. On that, our investigation alters nothing at all . . ."

The synoptic tradition and the letters of Paul attest that the earliest church thought of itself as the congregation of the time of the end. There was no written account of events of the life written by Jesus.

His friends wrote whatever survives. It existed in several forms—a Sayings source, Q, and a narrative form Gospel of Mark. Mark was combined with Q producing Luke in the one case and Matthew in the other. There were numerous other sources employed by Matthew and Luke. Huck—Lietzmann, wrote a *Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* which has been translated into English by Frank Leslie Cross of Oxford University.

There are two gospels, one of the gospel of Jesus and the other the gospel concerning Jesus. Legendary data develops and must carefully be separated from the genuine. The Pseudonymous compositions of which there is a vast abundance exists from the earliest times.

The first community that continued the work of Jesus after Calvary was a congregation of the time of the end. It

confidently expected the end of the world in the near future. Had they not proclaimed among the last words of Jesus: "I tell you in truth that *the present generation will not pass away until all these things have occurred*. Sky and earth will pass away, but my words shall not pass away."⁷

Here Jesus placed the duration of the world at less than fifty years! Say A.D. 50-100!

The Jerusalem church apparently first discovered that it could transform any passage whatever in the Old Testament that it needed for the messiahship of Jesus from what it originally and historically meant by the *medium of allegorical* interpretation. Since this was orthodox method employed by the best philosophers and historians of that day, no objection to its use could be raised.

They searched the Scriptures and often completely reinterpreted them to meet their needs. *In the process, the Old Testament was transformed, was made into a Christian book!* "This is what I told you about, when I was still with you—that everything that had been written about me in the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms, had to be fulfilled! Then he enabled them to understand the meaning of the scriptures." "Behooved it not the Christ to suffer in this way;" "Jesus in accordance with God's definite plan and with his previous knowledge was betrayed;" "God fulfilled all that he had long ago foretold regarding the passion of his Messiah by the lips of all the prophets" (Luke 24:44ff. Acts 1:23, 3:18).

The eschatological fellowship at Jerusalem took over the development of the church by adding an emphasis upon miracle and on prophecy. For these two are the confirmation of the divine on earth. Only by resorting to the allegorical interpretation of the Jewish Holy book could the meanings that they required be obtained. They now at last had a

method of demonstrating any Old Testament statement as being ultimately Christian. Through allegorical interpretation they had prevented Jesus from disappearing as an *historical person* by making him a *religious idea and symbol*. The permanency of Jesus has thus been secured.

The world for Jesus and most Christians to the sixteenth century was flat, moored to some stationary assumption and the fixed centre of the universe, not a tiny baseball whirling around the sun at incredible speed. Much of this thinking had become associated with the current theology. The world was conditioned by these views—all have been rejected by the modern man, yet linger on in the folk lore of this day and generation. Had there not been a stationary earth there could not have been an upper realm (heaven) for the good and a lower realm (hell) for the wicked with all the accompanying fallacies.

To measure the significance of a flat earth, consider the violent reaction that occurred when it was circumnavigated early in the sixteenth century.

The earth was revealing tribes at every level of progress obeying laws and customs of their own making. Here was territory far greater than that of all Europe. These people had not even heard of Jesus and the Father. *Overnight, a new theology, a new geography, a new astronomy, a new theory of government had emerged.* The Holy Roman had rested upon theory. Folks continued to read the eloquent orations of the jurists but wondered how many Indians dwelt in Florida. Copernicus merely interchanged the positions of the sun and earth. Kepler related rate and period of revolution around the sun to distance from the sun. Galileo related objects to their shadows, discovered satellites of Jupiter and the law of falling bodies. Giordano Bruno held that earth and heavenly bodies were of the same physico-chemical identity

and that motion, direction and space are relative. Rome burned him in 1600 as martyr to science.

Roman Catholics and the Protestant reformers built an iron clad case against a moving earth. Melanchthon would not go back on his own eyes. He could see "that the heavens revolved around in the space of twenty-four hours." Calvin refused to be so daring as "to place the authority of Copernicus above that of the Holy Spirit." And the pope in 1616 affirmed the "doctrine of the double motion of the earth about its axis and about the sun to be false and entirely contrary to scripture." Five passages from the Bible have been quoted against the rotation of the earth on its axis and its revolution about the sun (Psalm 19:4,5; Ecclesiastes 1:4,5; II Kings 20:11; Joshua 10:12ff; Psalm 93:1).

"See, there is the sun's pavilion pitched!

He glows like a bridegroom leaving his chamber."

"The generations come and go, but there the earth is,
there it shall remain."

"The rising sun goes down, it hurries round."

"Hezekiah said, 'It is easy for yonder shadow to move forward ten steps; rather let the shadow move back ten steps.' Then the prophet Isaiah called to the Eternal, who brought the shadow back for ten steps which it had advanced on the sundial of Ahaz."

"Thou has steadied and settled the world."

In this instance, reason could also be brought into court. If the earth moved, the wind ought to blow from the east continuously! But it does not. Buildings should be shaking! But they do not. If the earth were spherical, the Chinese

would be walking with their heads down! But they are not. To move, the earth should need to be equipped with limbs and muscles! And why should the wicked and damned earth be included among the spotless spheres of the upper universe? "The opinion of the earth's motion is of all heresies the most abominable, the most pernicious, the most scandalous; the immovability of the earth is thrice sacred; argument against the immortality of the soul, the existence of God, and the incarnation should be tolerated sooner than an argument to prove that the earth moves," shrieked a fundamentalist of A.D. 1631. *But when science had conclusively demonstrated that the earth must move, the theologian reversed himself and quoted from the Bible to prove that it had all along known that the earth was a sphere. For did it not refer to him "that sitteth above the circle of the earth?"* Yet a pancake cannot thus easily be turned into a baseball.

R. H. Charles is the author of the Jowett Lectures delivered in 1898-99, some sixty years ago a book of 484 pages dealing with *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, even in Christianity*.

By no means all students of the Bible can be as honest as Mr. Charles was when he wrote this footnote on *Gehenna*:

"I herewith withdraw the interpretation of Gehenna given in Hastings' Bible Dictionary, II, 120, as a final place of corporal punishment."

Too many ministers have sermons for frightening the wicked in their files which they just preach over again when the opportunity presents itself. Mr. Charles had put many hours in on his and he reversed himself entirely. He had penned in his original article on *Gehenna* and now knew that he had committed a grievous error. He therefore now substituted

“for place of final punishment for the wicked and apparently *a place of spiritual punishment only!*”

And he added to his indictment of himself this: “In Luke 12:5, it is clearly only a punishment of the soul—*for the body is first destroyed on earth.*” The landscape of the after life seems to consist of hell, hades, sheol, gehenna, and heaven. They were incorporated without change—sometimes they emerge as a “foreign element in the Old Testament and may be derived from the Mazdean religion.” “*Gehenna—Final place of punishment for the wicked and apparently a place of spiritual punishment only.*” “From the above considerations Gehenna appears to be a place *not* of corporal but of spiritual punishment.”

Mr. Charles was a foremost scholar of his day and generation. He must have paid a heavy penalty for his grievous error. And to show he really meant it he added some further remarks exonerating God! “Not of corporal but of spiritual punishment!”

8. *The Troublesome Problem of the Son of Man*

We approach with great hesitation the exceedingly troublesome problem of the Son of Man.

One of the most active church historians from 1896 was Hans Lietzmann who maintained that Jesus had never applied the title Son of Man to himself for the simple reason that in the Aramaic *which he spoke* the title did not exist and on linguistic grounds could not have existed.

Eerdmann and Wellhausen agree that the Son of Man cannot be a messianic title.

In his careful work *New Testament Word Studies*, Ernest DeWitt Burton, pp. 55-61, discusses Son of Man and reaches a very different conclusion from Lietzmann and also Bult-

mann. The last sentence of Burton's article reads, "But the term 'son of man' has in itself nothing to do with messiahship."

"It is clear that the evangelists believe the title (Son of Man) to have been Jesus' own self-designation."

"It is Jesus' name for himself . . . neither the Hebrew nor the Greek Old Testament has a phrase which properly means 'the Son of Man,' *referring* to a particular person. Whatever messianic significance the passages themselves may have the phrase itself has none. No non-Jewish writer has it."⁸ It occurs over 80 times in the New Testament. Acts 7:56 is the only instance of use beyond the evangelists.

The Son of Man became so thoroughly interwoven with the ideology of the early Christian that it never occurred to them to discriminate between the *historical Jesus* and the *Son of Man of their illusory post-cross experience*. They did not discern how confusing their failure to do so would be to later generations of Christians. They thus rub out the line of demarcation between the gospel of Jesus and the gospel concerning Jesus, between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith. They *predate* the use of the very title Son of Man. Their later dogma appears out of focus.

We can at times still trace the insertion of Son of Man in passages which originally did not contain it. For example, set in parallel columns:

Mark 8:27-33,
And Jesus went forth
and his disciples, into
the villages of Caesarea
Philippi: and on the
way he asked his
disciples, saying unto
them, *Who do men say
that I am?* And they
told him, saying, John
the Baptist; and others
say, Elijah; but others,
One of the prophets.
And he asked them, *But
who say ye that I am?*
Peter answereth and
saith unto him, *Thou
art the Christ.* And he
charged them that they
should tell no man of
him.

Matthew 16:13ff,
Now when Jesus came
into the parts of
Caesarea Philippi, he
asked his disciples,
saying, *Who do men
say that the Son of Man
is?* And they said, Some
say Elijah; and others
Jeremiah, or one of the
prophets. He saith unto
them, *But who say ye
that I am?* And Simon
Peter answered and
said, *Thou art the
Christ, the Son of the
living God.*

Luke 9:18-20:
And it came to pass, as
he was praying apart,
the disciples were with
him: and he asked them
saying, *Who do the
multitudes say that I
am?* And they answering
said, John the Baptist;
but others say, Elijah;
and others, that one of
the old prophets is
risen again. And he said
unto them, *But who
say ye that I am?* And
Peter answering said:
The Christ of God.

There are three passages in the synoptic gospels which prove the wilful insertion of son of man by omitting it in the third.

Mark 3:28-30,
"In truth I tell you
that all their sins may
be pardoned to the sons
of men, and all their
blasphemies, however
they may have
blasphemed; but
whoever blasphemes
against the Holy Spirit
remains for ever
unpardoned: he is
guilty of an eternal sin.
This was because they
said, 'He is possessed
by a foul spirit.'"

Matthew 12:31,32
"This is why I tell you
that men will find
forgiveness for every
other sin and impious
word, but that for
impious speaking
against the Holy Spirit
they shall find no
forgiveness. And
whoever shall speak
against the *Son of Man*
may obtain forgiveness;
but whoever speaks
against the Holy Spirit
shall obtain forgiveness
neither in this nor in
the coming age."

Luke 12:10
"And every one who
shall speak a word
against the *Son of Man*,
it shall be forgiven
him: but unto him that
blasphemeth against
the Holy Spirit, it shall
not be forgiven."

Here Mark preserves the original setting "sons of men" and shows that the argument involved only the situation in the post-resurrection Jerusalem community when Jesus had become the new kind of Messiah.

Mark 13:35 reads, "Watch therefore: for ye know not when the *lord of the house* cometh whether at even or at mid-night or at cock-crowing, or in the morning;" the parallel passage, Matthew 24:42 also employs *lord of the house*; but Luke 12:40 has altered *lord of the house* to *Son of Man*! There can be no doubt that Mark and Matthew preserve the original significance of the parable.

Where Luke 6:22 has "Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company and reproach you and cast out your name as evil for the *Son of Man's sake*." Matthew again preserves the original, "Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely *for my sake*" (Matthew 5:11). How easy it was on the basis of the experience of the church to alter "for my sake" into "for the Son of Man's sake" but also it changed an historical statement into a *mythical* one.

There is a passage in Mark 2:1-12 describing the healing of a paralytic. The event is also found in Matthew 9:1-8 and in Luke 5:17-26. Instead of healing the man, Jesus says, "Your sins are forgiven." Then Jesus reading the *thoughts* of the scribes, not a word seems to have been spoken, raises the question as to whether it is easier to say, "Your sins are forgiven" or to say "rise and walk." Thereupon he heals the paralytic and sends him home with his bed. On another occasion, presumably shortly after this episode, the disciples pluck grain on the Sabbath day. This is recorded in Mark 2:23-28, Matthew 12:1-8, and Luke 6:1-5. The Pharisees remind him that this is a violation of the Sabbath law. Jesus counters by

calling attention to two transgressors of the Sabbath law recorded in the Old Testament.

Then in case of the healing of the paralytic, Jesus says, "the *Son of Man* has authority on earth to forgive sins" and in case of the violation of the Sabbath law, he says, "*Son of Man* is Lord even of the Sabbath." Both of these episodes occur in the early ministry of Jesus. Both raise theological questions. In another instance of healing on the Sabbath (Mark 3:1-5), he does not invoke the *Son of Man*. The healings are unique in being performed to establish functions of the pre-existent, supernatural Messiah. It is just another instance of the Christian community's displacement of an original "I" by "*Son of Man*."

That *Son of Man* was the title conferred upon Jesus by the Jerusalem community *after his death* is indicated too by the remark of Hegesippus preserved by the church historian, Eusebius of Caesarea to the effect that James, the brother of Jesus, on being asked what he thought of his brother (Jesus) replied, "Why do you ask me concerning *the Son of Man*? He sits in heaven at the right hand of the great power and will come again on the clouds of heaven." Jesus was called *Son of Man* only after the cross and exaltation! *Son of Man* is only a word of the eschatological vocabulary, a post-Calvary title.

The passages involving the Son of Man in Matthew, Mark and Luke refer to him as coming, as suffering death and rising again, and as now at work.

To begin with the "now at work passages," that is, with Mark 2:10,28; Matthew 8:20 and parallels, 11:19 and parallels, and 12:32 and parallels:

Mark 2:10, But that you may know that the *Son of Man* has authority on earth to forgive sins.

Mark 2:28, So the *Son of Man* is lord even of the sabbath.

Matthew 11:19, The *Son of Man* came eating and drinking . . .

Matthew 12:32, And whosoever says a word against the *Son of Man* will be forgiven.

“In Aramaic, the Son of man in these sayings was not a Messianic title at all, but meant ‘man’ or ‘I’. So this group drops out of the present discussion.”⁹

The suffering and rising again Son of Man passages.

“This second group contains the *vaticinia ex eventu* which are not yet present in Q” (the sayings source):

Mark 8:38, “For whoever is ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him will the *Son of Man* also be ashamed when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.”

These two points of view the great prophets of Israel combined and exalted. The sufferings of the present and the sins of their Kings led to the expectation that in the latter days a ruler according to their ideal would manifest himself—a prince of peace, full of justice and goodness, kind to the poor, equipped with the knowledge of Yahweh whose instrument he would be. This world-ruler should achieve victory without conquest. The great and devastating wars of the latter days occur before his rise. He merely takes over for Yahweh.

Thus, in Isaiah 11:1-5, 10-12:

“And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit: and the Spirit of Yahweh shall rest upon him, the spirit

of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of fear of Yahweh; and his delight shall be in the fear of Yahweh; and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither decide after the hearing of his ears; but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the earth; and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist, and faithfulness the girdle of his loins.

“And it shall come to pass in that day, that the root of Jesse, that standeth for an ensign of the peoples, unto him shall the nations seek; and his resting place shall be glorious.

“And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord will set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, that shall remain, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea.”

Thus, in Zechariah 9:9,10:

“Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy king cometh unto thee; he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass. And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem; and the battle bow shall be cut off; and he shall speak peace unto the nations: and his dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth.”

Ezekiel avoids using word "king" for the ruler of the latter days (34:24, 37:24,28) and in his description of last days (40-48) the Messiah has completely disappeared. *Isaiah 53 is not a description of the Messiah.*

The thought of a Messiah who is the bearer of the future salvation to be conferred upon his people by God became the permanent possession of Judaism. It was modified in the book of Daniel and thereupon in the Pseudepigraphic Literature. The Kingdom was no longer of this earth. The hoped for ruler of the house of David who fulfils history and whose forerunners are Elijah, Enoch, Moses is transformed into a supernatural being, who is granted real or ideological pre-existence, who descends from heavenly heights to end all history. In addition to the historic titles, "anointed king" "Son of David," "Comforter," he bears the mysterious title "Son of Man."

The popular faith of the time of Jesus, then, was that a mighty Davidic king would restore the Davidic Kingdom in all its ancient glory and the hated Roman empire would be compelled to yield.

9. *The Attempt to Continue with the Davidic Messiahship.*

The Jerusalem eschatological community to maintain faith in Jesus had now to abandon their Son of David concept of the Messiah. This was the Messiah they had desired—a political Messiah who would deliver them from Roman rule. But this was precisely the Messiah whose death warrant Pontius Pilate signed and who was stretched on a cross. Jesus had died a malefactor's death.

Only Matthew has, "Tell the daughter of Zion, Behold, *your King* is coming to you, humble and mounted on an ass, the foal of an ass." It is wanting in Mark and in Luke. The

crowds, overenthusiastic, shouted: "Blessed is *he that cometh* in the name of the Lord"—employing the mysterious Messianic title from Psalm 118:26, "Blessed be he who enters in the name of the Lord! We bless you from the house of the Lord."

The title "Son of David" is absent from the oldest strata of gospel material. It is not found in the sayings source. Mark has it only on the lips of the blind Bartimaeus of Jericho.

Mark 12:35-37 seems to hail from the Jerusalem eschatological community:

And as Jesus taught in the temple, he said, "How can the scribes say that the Messiah is the son of David? David himself, inspired by the Holy Spirit declared, The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand, till I put thy enemies under thy feet.'

David himself calls him Lord: so how is he his Son?"

The Jerusalem eschatological community transmitted this: *Jesus is not David's son but his Lord!*

The author of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, one of the books known as the *Apostolic Fathers* and probably to be dated in the second century at Barnabas 12:10 quotes from Psalm 110:11 and Isaiah 45:1 and offers a comment on the passage: "Since it was to be expected, that they (the Jewish sinners) would say that the Messiah is the Son of David, so David himself says, because he feared the error of the sinners and foresaw: 'the Lord said to my Lord sit thou on my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footstool.' And again Isaiah speaks thus, 'The Lord said to the Christ my Lord, whose right hand I have held that the nations should obey

before him, and I will shatter the strength of kings.' See how David calls him Lord and does not say, Son."

There is a long sermon preached by Peter, the apostle, at the first Pentecost, which contains an involved argument that David does not meet the requirements of certain prophecies of the Old Testament, whereas Jesus does and therefore Messiah acquires a new meaning.

"Brothers, one may say to you confidently of the patriarch David that he died and was buried, and his grave is here among us to this very day. But as he was a prophet, and knew that God had promised him with an oath that he would put one of his descendants upon his throne, he foresaw the resurrection of the Christ and told of it, for he was not deserted in death and his body was not destroyed. He is Jesus, whom God raised from the dead, and to whose resurrection we are all witnesses. So he has been exalted to God's right hand, and has received from his Father and poured over us the holy Spirit that had been promised, as you see and hear."

"For David did not go up to heaven, but Jesus did. The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool."

"Therefore the whole nation of Israel must understand that God has declared this Jesus whom you crucified both Lord and Christ."

Peter is speaking. He quotes from Psalm 16:8-11 and asks whether this applies to David or to Jesus. Everyone knows that David died and was buried. His tomb is here. So it can't refer to David.

To whom then does it refer? Who fulfils the prediction?

David did not ascend. David does not sit at the right hand of God.

Only Jesus ascended. Only Jesus sits at the right hand of God. He fulfils the prophecy. Psalm 110-1 refers to him. He is not dead but Lord and Christ.

But observe that the Messiah Peter is talking about is not a physical Messiah, not a political Messiah, not a Messiah of this world but a pre-existent, supernatural type of Messiah.

Peter has really set aside the Son of David Messiah and substituted the Son of Man Messiah. That had to be done before the Jerusalem eschatological community could recover its faith in Jesus.

The desperation of the disciples can be measured by this hurried abandonment of the Davidic Messiah and the grasping of the supernatural, pre-existent, overworldly Messiah,—the substitution of the eschatological Son of Man for the anointed one, the King of David's line, for this they embarked upon an entirely new program. This was a reversal of all their former hopes.

10. The Acceptance of Another Ideology

After some time had elapsed, some of the despairing confused disciples of Jesus, as we have seen, believed the Master after all had survived the death on the cross. He had not perished. But they could no longer interpret him in terms of a political Messiah. That dream had vanished. It was axiomatic for them that the death of Jesus was according to the will of God. Yet the will of God as they had understood it made no provision for such a death. If God had not pre-determined and approved the death of Jesus, they could not preach.

A dead Messiah demanded some reconstruction. But here

were these tales that he was living. Could he have died according to the plan of God? Where was the will of God recorded? Why, we know that, in the holy book of Israel. In the Old Testament! This led to a new and astounding and revolutionary claim. There must be passages in their holy book regarding the death of the Messiah, also. *In the first moments of the bewilderment no special passages in the Old Testament which they could employ in their apologetic occurred to them. For example, scholars are still on the hunt for the Old Testament passage referred to in I Corinthians 15:4, "That on the third day he was raised from the grave as the Scriptures had foretold." Our modern enthusiastic cults make statement after statement in accord with their convictions but which they could not hope to demonstrate to any historian. Religious faith is like that. So the early Christians knew that what had happened to Jesus was in their holy book, even if they failed to discover the passage.*

Hence they searched the Scriptures and often completely reinterpreted them to meet their needs. *In the process, the Old Testament was transformed, was made into a Christian book!* "This is what I told you about, when I was still with you—that everything that had been written about me in the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms, had to be fulfilled! Then he enabled them to understand the meaning of the scriptures." "Behooved it not the Christ to suffer in this way;" "Jesus in accordance with God's definite plan and with his previous knowledge was betrayed;" "God fulfilled all that he had long ago foretold regarding the passion of his Messiah by the lips of all the prophets" (Luke 24:44ff. Acts 1:23, 3:18).

The rabbis knew naught of a suffering and dying Messiah. It never occurs to Trypho, the Jew, to discount the claims of Justin by pointing to such a Jewish dogma. The Messiah of

IV Ezra dies, but after holding sway for a *hundred years and not alone but with all humanity and not catastrophically in connection with suffering but naturally*. The Samaritan Messiah also dies a *natural death*. He dies because he is mortal. The rabbis are familiar with a Messiah ben Joseph and a Messiah ben David. But the rabbinical Messiah ben Joseph does not come into existence until the period of Hadrian, *and it is the seventeenth century before his death is regarded as propitiatory*. Moreover, his ministry is political. The doctrine of a suffering Messiah as far as the Jewish rabbis are concerned originated *between the third and sixth centuries of our era*. Consequently, the early Christians were compelled to develop a philosophy of the death of Jesus. *And thus the gospel of Jesus became a gospel concerning Jesus*. Jesus of Nazareth had died on the cross. Forthwith the Deuteronomic curse challenged his life: "Cursed be everyone hanged on a gibbet." The message of Christ, the crucified, had to prove a stumbling block to the Jews. Judaism could not then and does not now accept the son of Man as the Messiah.

Son of man is used in Ezekiel 2:1, where God is represented as addressing the prophet who has fallen upon his face because of the glory of the vision of the Lord: "Son of Man stand upon thy feet and I will speak to you." Throughout Ezekiel it appears as contrast between the majesty of God and man. It is in the book of Daniel that the title takes on eschatological significance. The four beasts are interpreted as four world kingdoms. The Son of Man emerges in the World Kingdom of the Jews, originally world King of the end period, the Messiah.

This is the beginning of the apocalyptic era, B.C. 175-135 A.D. In the literature of this period, Son of Man is frequent. In IV Ezra 13 the man from the sea vision is found. Here the man is designated as the one whom the Highest has

kept through a long time to redeem the creation through him and is finally called "Messiah," describing the King of the World at the end of the days. But in the Old Testament this meaning is missing with the exception of Isaiah 45:1,4. The Old Testament means by "Anointed," the king of Israel not the King hoped for but the present, the contemporary ruler. From here the concept is transferred to the High Priest.

In Enoch 37-71, Son of Man is employed of a form whose name is mentioned in the first moment of creation: he is the first of all created beings, his name is mentioned before the ancient of days. He is kept in concealment to at last take over the rule of the world and the judgment of the world. He bears the title—"the anointed." Here *son of man* is no longer a man *but the man—first man, original man, whose return as world king is expected.*

Now this is the title which in the writings of the New Testament is applied only to Jesus, in the synoptic gospels 69 times, in gospel of John 12 times, once in Acts, once in Hebrews, once in Revelation. Paul does not employ it, although Romans 5:12 and I Corinthians 15 and Philippians 2:7 indicate rather clearly that Paul knew it was used of Jesus in the church. Moreover, in the tradition of the gospels it occurs only on the lips of Jesus.

The title is evidently a designation of the Jerusalem community and applied to Jesus after the title Son of David had been abandoned. This is the supernatural and pre-existent Messiah now at the right hand of God. Thus, they overcame the antithesis of the cross to the Messiah. He would return again as world judge or be associated with God in the grand assize. Thus the entire Son of Man dogma was taken over by the eschatological Jerusalem community. The humiliating cross was no longer the contradiction of their Messiah. It was now the bridge to exaltation and glory. Indeed, a view of the

Messiah that had been political was demonstrated by the cross as impossible. The Messiah of nationalism was a Messiah to be forgotten by the eschatological fellowship. *The Son of Man was the synthesis they needed.*

This was the psychology of the eschatological community forming at Jerusalem. Failure to perceive this has led to confusion worse confounded. Later the eschatological significance of Son of Man was forgotten. It no longer signified the supernatural pre-existent Logos but was reduced to the pitiful substitute of the human nature of Jesus by Irenaeus. Thus the historical threads were severed. How tragic that the exalted Son of Man of the first Christian group degenerated in medieval and modern times into the human nature of Jesus!

11. *The Jewish Christian Synoptic Apocalypse.*

There is a synoptic Apocalypse in the Gospel of Mark 13:3-37. It represents itself as spoken on the Mount of Olives opposite the temple when Peter, James, John and Andrew apart from the others asked him, "Tell us, when will these things be? And what will be the sign when all these predictions are about to be fulfilled?" Matthew reads: "when he was seated among the crowd" and the question was put by the disciples. Many students of the synoptic apocalypse have proposed to separate into two independent series of sayings one of which is composed of verses, 7, 8, 14, 17-20, 24-27, 30, 31 to get rid of the contradictions. *All these events are to occur within about 30 years, the end was therefore to happen by 66 at the latest—that was already 1893 too late!* Another thing that is unknown in the Jewish apocalypse is the "sign of the Son of Man—Matthew 24:30." "Let him that *readeth understand*" first appeared in written form not in spoken address.

If you wish an outline at your side in case it becomes too involved, we suggest the use of this:

1. The Signs of the Parousia
Mark 13:5-8; Matthew 24:4-8; Luke 21:3-11
2. Beginnings of Trouble
Mark 13:9-13; Matthew 24:9-13; Luke 21:12-19
3. The Abomination of Desolation
Mark 13:14-20; Matthew 24:15-22; Luke 21:20-24
4. The False Messiahs and False Teachers
Mark 12:21-23; Matthew 24:23-25
5. The Day of the Son of Man
Mark 13:24-27; Matthew 24:26-28; Luke 21:25-28
6. The Present Generation will not pass away.
Mark 13:28-31; Matthew 24:32-33; Luke 21:28-33
7. The Markan Ending of the Discourse
Mark 13:32 "But as to that day or hour *no one knows—not even the angels in heaven, not even the Son, but the Father alone.*"

12. *Duration of the Coming Age.*

Men have spent an undue amount of valuable time trying to get an exact hour for the parousia.

Do they not know that the missionary work of the first eschatological fellowship was at first restricted to only their fellow Jews? Jesus is represented as saying:

"Go not among the Gentiles, and enter into no Samaritan town, but instead of that go to the lost sheep of Israel's race. . . . for I tell you in truth that you will not have gone the round of all the towns of Israel *before the Son of Man comes.*"¹⁰

This signifies that the first organized unit appointed to represent him thought of their evangelizing as restricted to the members of their own race! The men entrusted with carrying out these instructions were the twelve apostles! They combined a preaching and healing mission.¹¹

“And preach as you go, tell men, ‘The Reign of heaven is near.’ Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out daemons; give without paying; as you have got without paying; you are not to take gold or silver or coppers in your girdle, nor a wallet for the road, nor two shirts, nor sandals, nor stick—the workman deserves his rations. Whatever town or village you go into, find out a deserving inhabitant and stay with him till you leave.”

Strange as these injunctions are, they produced a decisive change by altering the gospel of Jesus into the gospel concerning him by making him an object of worship. They believed that the life of Jesus was the decisive manifestation of God in human history.

“When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next; for truly I say to you, you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel, before the Son of Man comes.”¹²

Well, these evangelists have long since died without witnessing the coming of the Son of Man!

Very soon Son of Man was employed as title for Jesus in the Galilean community and the Jerusalem community for a while longer employed the former title Messiah. *Shortly*

they discarded both these names. These communities were not churches but little eschatological fellowships. "Eschatological salvation bringing" groups, one tried to continue the national hope of Israel, the other with the enthusiastic apocalyptic Son of Man.

Messiah is not for the Jew a divine person. Messianic title must therefore date from the resurrection at the earliest and then by gradual projection to the transfiguration, to the baptism, and finally to wonder birth which Mark and the Fourth Gospel do not have—only Matthew and Luke are indication of late date of origin.

13. *Parousia—Translated Arrival.*

Parousia is a term of the eschatological vocabulary which occurs *thirteen* or sixteen times in the New Testament according as you regard II Peter as authentic.¹³ Paul must take credit for eight instances of the use of parousia. I Corinthians 15:23 (Christ the first to be reaped after that, all who belong to Christ, *at his arrival*); I Thessalonians 2:19 (in the presence of our Lord Jesus *on his arrival*); 3:13 (*when our Lord Jesus comes with all his holy ones*); 4:15 (*the Lord comes*); 5:23 (*till the arrival of Lord Jesus Christ*); II Thessalonians 2:1 (with regard *to the arrival of the Lord Jesus Christ*); 2:8 (by his appearing and *arrival*); 2:9 (that One whose *arrival* is due to Satan's activity). Matthew is the only representative among the synoptics, having instances of four parousias in one chapter.¹⁴

There are two instances of *parousia*, in James 5:7,8 (Be patient, then, brothers till the *arrival* of the Lord. Strengthen your hearts, *for the arrival of the Lord is at hand*). I John 2:28 has a single instance of parousia (Remain within him

now, my dear children, so that when he appears, we may have confidence instead of shrinking from him in shame *at his arrival*).

Not once in the entire New Testament does the expression *second coming* occur! Not once does *first coming* and *second coming occur*! Second coming first appears in the Dialogue with Trypho.¹⁵ "Coming back"¹⁶ emerges in the same dialogue. "In the sayings that refer to the coming of the Son of man there is no idea that this Son of man is already here in person and must first be removed by death before he can return from heaven.

In Mark 13:4, and Luke 21:7 the evangelists omit the parousia from Matthew 24:3.

It does not appear in Mark, not in Luke, not in the Fourth Gospel, not in Acts, not in Romans, not in II Corinthians, not in Galatians, not in Ephesians, not in Philippians, not in Colossians, not in I Timothy, not in II Timothy, not in Titus, not in Philemon, not in Hebrews, not in I Peter, three times in II Peter *not a genuine book*, not in II John, not in III John, not in Jude, not in Revelation. The word *parousia* does not appear in 22 books out of 27! It does not appear once! Having been fond of the word in this earlier writing did Paul abandon faith in the parousia in his later life? Does Mark avoid the employment of parousia to reflect this change of front on the part of Paul? And does Paul's abandonment of parousia in his later letters and in Acts account for Luke's failure to use parousia?

It appears that parousia makes a too early disappearance.

"Various identifications of the Parousia.¹⁷—(a) With Christ's resurrection. Such a view, however, disregards many of the elements of the NT expectation, and has never been widely accepted. (b) The coming

of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost—a view commonly held by those who reject the liberalistic interpretation of the apocalyptic elements of the NT, and identify the influence of the risen Jesus in the world with the Holy Spirit. This view makes such passages as Jn 14:23 and 16:7ff the exegetical point of approach to the entire question. (c) The destruction of Jerusalem. This is generally combined with (b) and said to be forecast in Mk 13 and 14:61-63.—(d) The theory of the successive comings of the Christ judgment. Thus various historical crises, such as the destruction of Jerusalem and the fall of the Roman Empire, are regarded as due to the immediate influence of the Christ and as a part of the new dispensation of the Spirit. (e) The death of the believer—a view exegetically untenable. (f) The historical-critical view sees in the expectations of the NT Christianity survivals of Jewish eschatology.”

14. *The Practice of Early Christian Baptism.*

Jesus is not described as interested in sacramentalism. The temple appealed to him as a place of prayer. Matthew 28:16-20 is regarded as not historical. The church seems unaware of them. They settle down in Jerusalem and only the radicalism of Stephen compels them to depart from Jerusalem. Peter must be prepared by a heavenly vision to undertake a mission to those Gentiles expecting him at Caesarea. The pillar apostles still are hesitant a decade and one half after the death of Jesus regarding obeying the “marching orders.” This is the only instance in the New Testament where the trinitarian formula appears in connection with baptism.¹⁸ Otherwise baptism is associated only with the name of Jesus.¹⁹

Original formula is still used in the ninth century by Pope Nicholas.²⁰ The Gospel according to John likewise emphasizes that "Jesus baptized not, but his disciples."

Some members of the Christian church at Corinth were practicing a form of vicarious baptism in behalf of the dead: "Else what shall they do that are baptized for the dead? If the dead are not raised at all, why then are they baptized for them."²¹

The Roman Catholic church has always discriminated between the baptism of John and Christian baptism: "If anyone saith, that the baptism of John had the same force as the baptism of Christ let him be anathema."²² Historical scholarship recognizes the difference between John's baptism and early Christian baptism.²³

Baptism originally was by immersion. The testimony of Calvin, the book of Common Prayer, and Roman Catholicism, Eastern Catholicism may be quoted by way of confirmation. As late as the sixteenth century, Erasmus notices the immersion of infants in England. Trine immersion was prescribed by Henry VIII in 1530. Both Elizabeth and Edward were immersed. The change from immersion to affusion occurred when the Marian exiled returned from Geneva with the new mode of baptism.

15. *The Practice of the Early Christian Eucharist.*

The Christian eucharist is not rooted in the Jewish Passover.²⁴ No lamb is slain or eaten, since it is a continuous occurrence or an hourly, weekly, monthly, bimonthly, quarterly event whereas the passover is an annual feast, since its duration is a quarter of an hour to an hour, since the gospel of Mark has *azuma* for the bread of the passover but *arton*

for the bread of the eucharist, and since a dozen other features of the Jewish feast are conspicuous by their absence in the Christian rite.²⁵

The earliest New Testament eucharist was merely a breaking of bread:

“and on that one day about three thousand persons were added to them; and they were constant in attendance on the teaching of the Apostles, and in the fellowship, the breaking of the bread, and at the prayers.”²⁶

“He was known to them in the breaking of the bread.”²⁷

Gentile Christians seem later to have opposed the Jewish Christian custom of keeping the passover since Jesus is made to say: “I will never eat the passover again till its fulfilment in the kingdom of God.”²⁸

The death of Jesus began to be associated with the expiation of the sins of man.

This new theology produced a new interpretation of Jesus' last meal with the disciples.

Within a century the eucharistic ceremony of the early church had grown from simple fellowship meal to genuine sacrament!

After that the eucharist became medicine of immortality. The memorial sacrifice became an actual continuing sacrifice. In the twelfth century, the cup was withdrawn from the laity. In the thirteenth century, transubstantiation was defined as a dogma. In the sixteenth century, Martin Luther turned to consubstantiation. Calvinism returned to a spiritual point of view.

16. *The Conflict Between the Interim Congregation and the Church Destined for Permanency.*

The first historical instance of "church," assembly, "that which is called out" occurs at Acts 5:11, "and a great fear came upon the *whole church* and upon all who heard of these things."

The verse is a quote from the distressing experience which the church had with Ananias and his wife Sapphira regarding the sale of some property. He paid only a part of the purchase price to the apostle and kept the rest for himself. When Ananias heard this, he fell down and expired. And the younger men rose, wrapped the body up and carried it away to be buried. After an interval of about three hours his wife happened to come in, quite unconscious of what had occurred. The parallel conversation with Peter showed no improvement in the ethics of his wife Sapphira and she was condemned to be carried out by the same pall bearers! *In this connection the word "church" became an ecclesiastical word.*²⁹

There are only three instances of *ecclesia* in the four gospels. Is not this odd? Matthew 16:18 and 18:17 two! The passage Matthew 18:15-20 is the celebrated one concerned with the matter of church discipline and reading: "If your brother sins against you, go and tell his fault, between you and him alone. If he listens to you, you have gained your brother. But if he does not listen, take one or two others with you, that every word may be confirmed by the evidence of two or three witnesses. If he refused to listen to them, tell it to the *church*; and if he refuses to listen *even to the church*, let him be to you as a Gentile and a tax collector. Truly, I say to you, whatever you bind on earth shall be

bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say to you, if two of you agree on earth about anything they ask, it will be done for them by my Father in heaven. For where two or three are gathered in my name, there I am in the midst of them."

The third and only other instance of *church* in the gospels is at Matthew 16:18, "And I declare to you that you are Peter and that upon this rock I will build my *church*, and the might of Hades shall not triumph over it."

Mark and Luke and the Fourth Gospel have not a single instance of "*church*"! Also Titus, II Timothy, II and III John, I Peter and finally II Peter. It comes as quite a surprise that in nine of twenty-seven books of the New Testament "church" should not appear at all.

There is a somewhat puzzling passage in the last chapter of Matthew's gospel known as the Marching Orders of Jesus, and represented as the last words of Jesus to his disciples. Let us look at them again.³⁰

Now the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the hill where Jesus had arranged to meet them. When they saw him they worshipped him, though some were in doubt. Then Jesus came forward to them and said, "Full authority has been given to me in heaven and on earth. Go and make disciples of all nations,³¹ baptize them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and teach them to obey all the commands I have laid on you. And I will be with you all the time, to the very end of the world."

How different this command is! "Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

Here are the actual Marching Orders!³²

“You are the salt of the earth. But if salt becomes insipid, what can make it salt again? After that it is fit for nothing, fit only to be thrown outside and trodden by the feet of men.

“You are the light of the world. A town on the top of a hill cannot be hidden. Nor do men light a lamp to put it under a bowl; they put it on a stand and it shines for all in the house. So your light is to shine before men, that they may see the good you do and glorify your Father in heaven.”

Karl Holl observed that these were two interpretations of the church in early Christianity, one supported by Jerusalem, the other by Paul. The Jerusalem church regarded itself as the mother church and the centre of Christianity. The apostles viewed all new Christian communities as branches or mission stations of Jerusalem whose planting and training must be supervised, guided and controlled by Jerusalem. Paul thought of the church as an institution into which individuals must be admitted, in which the apostles have special rank. Paul even acknowledged the overlordship of Jerusalem by visiting there, consulting the pillar apostles and accepting their decision and by gathering a collection for the saints of Judea, but on the other hand Paul undercut Jerusalem emphasizing the centrality of the living Christ and the charisms of the Spirit, by describing the local congregation as a replica of the universal church, and by calling Gentile Christians, “saints.”

When the early church reviewed the career of Jesus it let his ministry begin with the repentance message of John the Baptist.

While Peter and others were in Galilee they came to believe that Jesus had not ended in death.

The rapid growth in ecclesiastical self-consciousness is astounding.

The church became the true Israel. Moreover, the church was not merely the historical successor of Israel. Long before the actual failure of Israel in time, God had already in Abraham's day predestined the church to supersede Israel.

But if the Christian ecclesia was the true Israel of God, then what seemed to belong to Israel really belonged to the church. Hence the twelve apostles would at the time of the final assize sit upon twelve thrones as judges of the twelve tribes of Israel. And Israel's scriptures and their promises were concerned with the Christians. Israel's philosophy of history was taken over by the church.

On earth the church exists as guest and stranger. The world is the diaspora of the church. Christians are citizens of the commonwealth of heaven. The church soon became the body of Christ, the totality of Christians upon earth, the new covenant people. The church also became the bride of Christ awaiting his coming, the super-mundane totality to which high angels and spirits, the blessed, the martyrs and confessors, as well as the militant church belong. Indeed, the church even became preexistent and eternal.

The result of all this about the turn of the century was the emergence of the ideology of Catholicism. I Timothy 3:16. It has the faith once for all given. Jude 3. Its foundation was laid by the Apostles and Prophets. Ephesians 2:20. It is Holy, Ephesians 5:25, It is One, Ephesians 4:4, John 10:16, It is pillar and foundation of truth. I Timothy 3:15.

17. Paul and His Greek Followers Abandon the Parousia Concept.

Mark regards the messianity of Jesus as Jesus' own secret. Jesus is represented as not understood by his disciples in

regard to his insistence upon this secret. The actual appreciation of messiahship begins after the resurrection and when the death of the leader is definitely believed. Jesus becomes Messiah by the resurrection from the dead. It is then extended to the transfiguration, to his baptism, and finally to his birth!

About Paul there is no doubt at all:

Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle set apart for the gospel of God (which he promised of old by his prophets in the holy scriptures) concerning his Son, who was born of David's offspring by natural descent and installed as Son of God with power by the Spirit of holiness when he was raised from the dead—concerning Jesus Christ our Lord through whom I have received the favour of my commission to promote obedience to the faith for his sake among all the Gentiles, including yourselves who are called to belong to Jesus Christ.

The first Christians awaited the return of the Lord in person during their life. But the Lord failed so to come back. How did the second generation of Christians survive so terrible a disappointment!

They began to say that the Lord was a long time coming. Matthew 24:46 ff., 25:1 ff. Doubters of the Lord's coming very naturally appear upon the scene. II Peter 2:3 f. There were also Christians who were certain the Kingdom could not finally be shaken. Hebrews 12:25 ff. There were other Christians who rationalized the situation and began to teach that Jesus had returned immediately after his ascension in the coming of the Spirit. I will not leave you bereaved; I will come to you. John 14:15 ff; 15:26 ff; 16:15 ff. Another suggestion that occurred to some Christians when the Lord's

return was postponed was to identify the church and the Kingdom of God. Matthew 13:24-30; 36-42.

If you counted heads, the doubters just about had it!

But there was Paul! What did he do? He had composed I and II Thessalonians so filled with references to the parousia: I Thessalonians 19-13, II:1-8. Was he sorry he had written them? It seems so! He makes only one passing reference in I Corinthians 15:23: "Then they who are Christ's at his arrival"! Just think in case of Romans, II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I Timothy, II Timothy, Titus, Philemon—Paul debater of extraordinary ability is silent when a word from him would have meant so much! Outside of Matthew 24:3 23,37,39, it does not occur in any of the remaining gospels!

Of course, Paul was being aided by a militant majority of the Greeks. Everything in the general environment gave its opinion for the liberal Jew.

18. *The Part Played by the Church of Antioch.*

In Acts 11:19, 20 and 26, the transition of Christianity to the Graeco-Roman culture is described:

Now those who were scattered because of the persecution that arose over Stephen traveled as far as Phoenicia and Cyprus and Antioch, speaking the word *only* to the Jews. But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who on reaching Antioch spoke to the Greeks as well, *preaching the Kyrios Jesus*.

And in Antioch, the disciples were *for the first time called Christians*.

This was the first time a Christian community with a universal emphasis and consisting of Jews and Greeks was established. A new title is employed of Jesus, namely Kyrios. So conspicuous was the difference between the eschatological community at Jerusalem and at this new community at Antioch that a new title for the followers of Jesus was coined, namely Christians. Even Paul recognized that his type of Christianity was in vital union with the churches of Damascus, Tarsus, and Antioch.

These Greek churches did not continue the titles Son of man or Messiah because the titles were unfamiliar on Greek soil. Kyrios was a new title. In the older evangelical materials it appears exceedingly infrequently. There is a vast difference between the vocative, Lord, and the title Kyrios. The vocative had much broader use in the New Testament. It applies to God, to Christ, to other heavenly beings, to human beings, to Lord over against servants, to the father compared with son, to honorable persons as contrasted with subjects.

The title Kyrios is used but once in the Gospel of Mark (11:3) as title of Jesus; in the sayings source not at all. Matthew's gospel follows its sources generally speaking. The gospel of Luke employs Kyrios about a dozen times. In the spurious conclusion of Mark's gospel, 16:9-20, Kyrios occurs twice. In the Fourth gospel Kyrios does not occur in the first nineteen chapters, in the Epistles of John not at all.

It is in the Greek churches that the significance of Kyrios is appreciated. It is the Kyrios who is worshipped. His name is confessed and employed in baptism. At the table of the Lord, the prayer is: "Come Lord Jesus, Maranatha." The Lord's day is sacred to the Lord. Miracles are performed and demons exorcized in his name. The church gathers as his body and about the Kyrios as head and master. The characteristic of Christians is that they call upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, Romans 10:13, II Timothy 2:22, Acts

9:14 21 22:16. *The passage in Joel 2:32, "And it shall be that whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved,"* where *Lord* translates *Yahweh*, was applied to Jesus!³³

At the beginning of the Christian life confession was made and baptism occurred, as Paul puts it: "because, if you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead you will be saved," Romans 10:9. Baptism was into the name of Jesus. I Corinthians 6:11, "But you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God"—the name and the Spirit are the effective factors in baptism. Acts 22:16 confirms this practice in case of Paul's baptism: "And now why do you wait? Rise and be baptized, and wash away your sins, calling on his name." James 2:8, also vouches for it, "the beautiful name which was called over you." The Christian may now participate in the *Lord's supper*. Jesus is the Lord about whom the church gathers.

Christian worship is characterized by calling upon the name of the *Lord* Jesus. Paul mentions private prayer to the Lord—"three times I besought the Lord about this that it should leave me," II Corinthians 12:8, "and all that you do in work or deed, do everything in the name of the *Lord* Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him"—here the reference is to public worship. Formal community prayer to him also—"maranatha, Amen come *Lord* Jesus"; "no one can say, 'Jesus is *Lord*' except by the Holy Spirit," I Corinthians 16:22 f, 12:3. Expulsion from the church took place "in the name of the *Lord* Jesus," I Corinthians 5:4. Exorcisms in the name of the *Lord* Jesus are referred to in Mark 9:38 f, Acts 19:13.

Kyrios is the title of Jesus used by the Greek churches. Where did they obtain it?

The customary method has been to derive the Kyrios

title from the Greek translation of the Old Testament. Kyrios is the word used by the translators of the Old Testament for Yahweh. But this origin of Kyrios for the church fails to answer this question: How did the Jerusalem disciples dare to employ the majestic Old Testament name for God of Jesus! They were Jewish monotheists. *Yahweh was the particular name of God of Israel.* How could they rub out all distinctions between God and Jesus of Nazareth?

The solution of the riddle cannot be found by pointing to the passages in the Old Testament where a supernatural being in addition to Yahweh must be assumed. Psalm 110-1 is such an instance: "The Lord says to my Lord; Sit on my right hand till I make your enemies your footstool." But a living popular religion does not proceed this way. The Kyrios-worship is not based upon misinterpreted passages in the Old Testament. Piety comes first, thereupon the hunt for passages. Jesus first achieved the position of Lord in the cultus of the church before he could be thought of as the second Kyrios of the Old Testament or be identified with Yahweh-Kyrios. In the entire Jewish literature Kyrios never denotes the Messiah. Kyrios is a title used by the Greek Christian of Jesus, not by the Jewish Christian. We must look for its origin in the Graeco-Roman environment. The feeling of the Oriental for the distinct cleavage between ruler and ruled created this cult. The Egyptians believed the Pharaoh was an incarnation of deity. The Persian religion held that the king possessed the divine heavenly fire guaranteeing victory in battle and sovereignty. Alexander the Great had amalgamated the god-soter combination. The Ptolemies had developed a system of worship of Kings as gods beginning with Alexander and terminating with the reigning king and his consort. The Selucids continued the process. Then after much misery and the great

wars of conquest when the Roman imperium had resulted in an ordered world and a golden age of peace, happiness, prosperity had settled down upon the peoples of the earth, the East transferred this glowing religious worship to the Roman conquerors and finally to the Roman emperors. Augustus knew how to exploit this religious enthusiasm, to centralize emperor worship, to join hands with religion—*Dea Roma et Divus Augustus*. Religion became as never again the religion of the state with the emperor as God. The emperor was *Deus manifestus* who on earth had become visible.

Now the title Kyrios played a dominant role in this cult. The paean that the Athenians sang to the victorious Demetrios Poliorketes at his march of triumph closed with the words, "Therefore we pray to thee: give us peace, for thou art the *Kyrios*." After this, Kyrios occurs frequently. For example, there is an inscription, 62 B.C., where Ptolemy XIII is called Kyrios, King, God. Under Domitian the title *dominus et deus noster* is half-official.

The title Kyrios entered the Graeco-Roman religion from the Orient. Syria and Egypt are its real home. But that it played an important part in the Egyptian-Roman worship of the ruler is only part of the story.

The Greek translation of the Old Testament the Septuagint, rendered Yahweh by Kyrios. There were two words for God in the Greek, *Theos* and *Kyrios* that played a role in this problem. Now the Greek Bible of Judaism acknowledged Kyrios as the one that alone it would worship.

Moreover, in the Graeco-Roman environment the title Kyrios was prevailingly bestowed upon those deities that were worshipped in the cultus. For Egypt: Osiris, Isis, Serapis.

In this atmosphere the Antiochean Christianity and the remaining early Christian Greek churches originated and

grew. Here the youthful Gentile churches became the cult of Christ and the dominant position of Jesus in worship was expressed by the title *Kyrios*. No one thought of transforming this into theology. No one read this title *Kyrios* immediately out of the Old Testament. No one thought of transferring the holy name of Almighty God to Jesus—that would have meant deification. Such things occur in the psychology of the community. It was axiomatic that the Greek churches should call their cult hero, *Kyrios*! The translators of the Old Testament applied the title *Kyrios* so customary in the Graeco-Roman world to the Holy God of Israel, Yahweh, to represent him as *Kyrios without equal*. Paul explains the procedure thus: "For although there may be so-called gods in heaven or on earth—as indeed there are many 'gods' and many 'lords,' yet for us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist." (I Corinthians 8:5,6).

The one Lord Jesus Christ is opposed to the many lords of the Greek cults. The *Kyrios*—faith and the *Kyrios*—cult represents the form which Christianity assumed on Greek soil and won the victory over the Greek cults. This demonstrates unmistakably that the title *Kyrios* could not have originated on the soil of Palestine. This putting of Jesus into the centre of the cultus of a believing church, this remarkable doubling of the cultus of a believing church, this remarkable doubling of the objects of divine worship is only their label in an environment in which the Old Testament monotheism no longer controlled with unqualified certainty and without any limitation.

This interpretation of Jesus as *Kyrios* has certain consequences. The title *Kyrios* has its own roots. It was not as has been shown derived from the Old Testament directly.

But after this reference to Christ had become at home in the churches, it was read into the Old Testament and so bestowed the holy name Yahweh upon Jesus of Nazareth! Only in this way can the remarkable development be accounted for. And thus the significance of the Old Testament exalted the Kyrios-worship and led to the gradual obliteration of all differences between the God of the Old Testament and Christ—thus the church is on the way to an argument about the trinity, to the total breakdown of the monotheism of the Jews and the early Palestinian Christians.

Let us examine a few of the passages in the Pauline epistles that show this phenomenon. Isaiah 40:13 reads, "who hath known the Spirit of the Lord, or as his counselor has instructed him" and is applied to God in Romans 11:34 but in I Corinthians 2:16, indubitably, to Christ, "for who has known the mind of the Lord so as to instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ." Isaiah 45:23, "To me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall confess." Paul refers in Romans 14:11 to God and in Philippians 2:10 f to Jesus, "that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father." In Jeremiah 9:24 f, "but let him who glories glory in this, that he understands and knows me, that I am the Lord who practices kindness, and justice and righteousness in the earth." Paul applies this to Jesus in I Corinthians 1:31. Paul can find Kyrios of Jesus in the Old Testament where he wishes or needs to. So Christ was the wonderful rock which guided Israel in the wilderness journeys (I Corinthians 10:4 f, Exodus 17:6, Numbers 20:11). Paul in all these instances merely follows an interpretation of the Old Testament which had to follow naturally when the title Kyrios was once applied to Jesus.

A further consequence issued from the application of

Kyrios to Jesus. Jesus as Lord became the object of Christian faith. *Faith in Jesus in the religious sense is not met with in the older tradition of gospel material.* It begins to appear in the later tradition. For example, Mark 9:24 and Matthew 18:6 read, "one of these little ones *who believe in me* to sin" but Luke 17:6 has "that *he should cause one of these little ones to sin.*"

The Son of man of the Jerusalem church derived from Jewish eschatology remained an eschatological figure. He had been taken up to heaven where he dwelt until the restoration of all things. He is the messiah of the future, who should come in glory. *But he was now far away.*

The Kyrios of the Greek churches is present in worship: "For where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them." And so any decision taken by them will be ratified in the courts of heaven.

An eschatological Son of man and a present Kyrios! What a contrast! The end is near, the Son of man will soon come, "in this generation," the dawn cometh, yes, but it is still future. In the present possession of the Lord the centre of gravity changes from the future to the present. *Kyrios-cult, worship, sacrament become the most dangerous and important opponents of the original eschatological trend.* The future belongs to the Kyrios-ideology. The Son of man will be forgotten, transformed by the church beginning with Irenaeus into the humanity of Jesus. This semantic rendering effaced the eschatological Jewish meaning with which Son of man originated and enabled the most eloquent divines to preach sermons on the "humanity of Jesus." *They invented a psychological monstrosity and destroyed the essential manhood of Jesus.*

CHAPTER III

FROM PAUL TO THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF VIRGIL AND HIS PROPHETIC POEM.

19. The Complicated Christology of Paul

Paul was a convert to Christianity. He acquired his great standing by becoming an apostle to the Gentiles. He wrote letters not theological treatises. By his Jewish religious training he was a monotheist, a nationalist, and an eschatologist. From his association with Greek Christians came knowledge of the death of Jesus, the acceptance of Jesus as Lord, the identification of Lord with the Spirit and the construction of Christ's relation to sin.

The usual approach to the Pauline religion has been by way of the epistle to the Romans. It is not difficult to see that for Paul there are only two fundamental types of men, those who support their claims to salvation by appeal to achievement and those who unreservedly trust in God. Religion based on the fulfillment of the law was demonstrated to be a tragic failure. For obedience to the law is not within

the ability of man. Hence the law cannot absolve man from guilt by merely disclosing the true nature of sin. Under a moral government, man is a transgressor, is hostile to God, is involved in sin and guilt and subject to condemnation. What is the outcome for all men? "No person will be acquitted in his sight on the score of obedience to law. What the law imparts is the consciousness of sin." There is only one way to righteousness and life. It is God's way. Man imperatively needs a divine release. Because God's nature is grace, God intervened. The redeemer descended. The death and the resurrection of Christ made justification, reconciliation, and life available for man. Those who believe this announcement are men of the faith type. To observe how necessary a savior is to this outline of the apostle's religion, consider Romans 3:21-26. We have here a series of contrasts between the former status and the present status, between man guilty, an enemy of God and dying and man justified, reconciled, living; between man under legalism and man under faith. To bring about the new condition of things, a deliverance was necessary. And Jesus is described as the selected or manifested propitiation. The propitiatory transaction is efficient through a sacrificed life, operative through faith, designed to demonstrate that God's character is just and that justification is through faith.

Paul's religion may also be approached from the angle of his Christology. The apostle's message is the gospel of the Son of God. "Son of God" in case of Paul has metaphysical significance. Jesus was a heavenly, pre-existent being, creator and soul of the world, who became incarnate, won a victory over the power of sin and was appointed reigning sovereign. The incarnation of the heavenly one is described as a great condescension, a becoming poor for man's sake. But what was the basic reason for the incarnation? Apocalypticism expected

the heavenly man to appear in glory, sit at the great assize, establish the eschatological Kingdom of God. With that hypothesis Paul had long been familiar. His pre-Christian problem was to bring the life and death of Jesus into harmony with the pre-existent heavenly man. The humanity of Jesus was on record. The idea of a glorious pre-existence was inviolable dogma. Why need the pre-existent one abandon the former glory and live such a limited and circumscribed human career? The answer finally given by Paul's experience was that the Messiah was destined to die for Man's sin and on account of the power of sin. Sin was reigning in the flesh and resulting in death. The law could not overcome its sway. Consequently God intervened. God sent his son to win the great victory over sin and its sway. Evidently, Paul is describing the son of God as savior.

The religion of Paul may also be viewed from the angle of his cosmology. To the apostle, the history of the world was continuous and a terrific conflict between two kingdoms, the kingdom of the Messiah and the kingdom of Satan. There are two world periods, the present evil world and the coming aeon. The present aeon is marked by three ellipses with one common focus. Their independent foci are the fall of Adam, or the beginning of sin and death in the world; the promise to Abraham; and giving of the law. Their common focus is Christ. There are, then, the Adam-Christ ellipse, the Abraham-Christ ellipse, and the law-Christ ellipse: "as all die in Adam, so shall all be made alive in Christ;" "for in him is the 'yes' that affirms the promise of God;" "now Christ is an end to law, so as to let every believer have righteousness." The coming age which began with the victorious death of Christ will witness the overthrow of all opposition, the utter destruction of Satan and his cohorts, and the establishment of the complete sovereignty of God. Even in this cosmic salva-

tion the death of Christ is a very concrete thing. Not an intellectual victory but a moral religious victory is pictured. Jesus Christ released and delivered humanity from the turbulent and wicked cosmic spirits: "the Lord Jesus Christ gave himself for our sins to rescue us from this present evil world;" "the wage of sin is death but God's gift is life eternal in Christ Jesus our Lord;" "one man's obedience will make all the rest righteous;" "for God destined us not for wrath but to gain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ who died for us." It was this cosmic interpretation of redemption which attracted Gnosticism with its savior to Paulinism.

It was exceedingly unfortunate that the so-called Epistle to the Hebrews was so early assigned to Paul. For it contained the famous verse, "without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness of sin," 9:22. This view was shared by the entire world of that day but it cannot be found in the writings of Paul. The method of Christ's death did not involve much blood letting. He may have been bound to the cross, tied with tough, cutting fibres to increase the agony. Crucify need not mean and is not identical with "nail to a cross." It signifies "to put to death by nailing *or otherwise* affixing to a cross." In any case only the Christian hymn knows of "a fountain filled with blood."

Paul did not pay much attention to Leviticus. In all his letters he quotes from it six times: Leviticus 18:5, three times Romans 7:10, 10:5, Galatians 3:12; Leviticus 19:18 twice, Romans 12:19, Galatians 5:14; Leviticus 25:43,53, once, Colossians 4:1, Leviticus 18:5 reads, "Ye shall keep my statutes and my ordinances by doing which a man shall live: I am the Lord." Leviticus 19:18 reads, "you shall love your neighbor as (you shall love) yourself: I am the Lord." Leviticus 25:43,53, "You shall not rule over him with harshness but shall fear the Lord." Leviticus is a book of 33 pages and

27 chapters. From this book *Paul quotes only three different passages, and each one of them is social in character. There is not the slightest hint that he was remotely concerned about Leviticus 16.* But the Epistle to the Hebrews quotes from this classical chapter six times.

Waterman points out in his *The Historical Jesus* that:

“The Levitical Law never gave Paul or anyone else any warrant to use human blood whether literally or symbolically for any purpose whatever, let alone the blood of Christ. The assumption that the one sacrifice of Christ, being so immeasurably more costly, therefore more than takes the place of all other sacrifices has no basis whatever in the Levitical Law. That Law is much more respectful of human life than to countenance such a concept. *Jesus’ death was not a sacrifice according to any definition of Jewish Law or custom. A sacrifice must be a reverent religious act by the one who makes it. No one can knowingly kill a human being to please God. ‘For I have no pleasure in the death of anyone, says the Lord God,’ Ezekiel 18:32.* Nor could the slaughter of an animal, because it was regarded as vicious later be appropriated as a sacrifice (Exodus 21:28-32). The same would apply to any human sacrifice.”

“. . . Neither Paul nor anyone else could have said before Christ’s death that he of course had to be murdered before he could have become the Savior of mankind, or that God would never forgive sins until this had taken place; and whoever presumed to do so would have had to go squarely against the Scriptures and the prevailing Jewish Law of the time. . . .”

Paul says that he had received from the tradition of the church that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures. He accepted from others the idea of the sacrificial death of Jesus. He hesitates between the thought of expiation and the juridical idea of satisfaction. The wrath of God which demands a bloody atonement but manifests the love of God as well appears here, the juristic righteousness which places the punishment upon the innocent there. He is only certain that the death upon the cross has removed the curse of the law. The law is viewed as a personal power beside God to which the death of Christ pays a ransom in order to deliver man from its curse. "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us—for it is written, 'Cursed by everyone who hangs on a tree;'" "But when the time had fully come, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman and born under the law, to redeem those who were under the Law," Galatians 3:13; 4:4,5.

But the death of Jesus upon the cross involved the demonic powers also. In I Corinthians 2:8, "None of the rulers of this age (demonic powers) understood this; for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory;" and Colossians 2:15, "He (God) disarmed the principalities and powers and made a public example of the triumphing over them in him." The demonic powers are for Paul the angels who set up and mediated the law (Galatians 3:19) who belong to the elements which controlled the pagan world in the pre-Christian times (Galatians 4:3,9, Colossians 2:8,20). The death of Christ was a ransom paid to them through which they were deprived of their control over men and all power. Whence, it comes about that "Christ is the end of the law," Romans 10:4. The connection between death on the cross and removal of the law is: "for if justification were through the law, then Christ died to no purpose," Galatians 2:21.

The entire life of the Christian is a dying-with and

living-with Christ. "One died, therefore all died;" "As in Adam all die, so all shall be made alive in Christ," II Corinthians 5:14, I Corinthians 15:22.

Now, one must conclude that this whole theory of redemption and piety of Paul developed on Greek soil. The ideology of a suffering, dying and rising God was very widespread in the Greek Orient. It appears in every mystery religion. The Babylonian Tammuz, the Syrian Adonis, the Asia Minor Attis, whose cultus had a firm footing in the Rome of Emperor Claudius, the Egyptian Osiris and Isis and Serapis, Dionysios of the Orphic mysteries. These deities have left their homes in the ideal world, have come to earth to suffer and die and rise for their people. "As Osiris is not annihilated, so will he not be annihilated." "And therefore man is over against all other forms of life mortal according to the body, immortal according to his essential being. Immortal he is and has power over all things and still suffers which is a characteristic of all mortals, and is subject to fate." Fallen from heavenly heights, sinful and degraded, men will rise again to highest heaven, "What God has experienced and suffered, is man's common lot."

This is the spiritual climate also of the Pauline dying with Christ and rising with Christ. Death for Christ is release from the flesh. For Paul the death of the redeemer has the significance of release—"in Adam all die, in Christ all are made alive." "The death he died he died to sin once for all, but the life he lives he lives to God. So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus;" Romans 6:10.

Paul's confession of faith is: The Lord is the Spirit. The Spirit is the completely supernatural power which seizes man in ecstasy and enables him to work miracles. I Corinthians 12:1-3, Paul defines grace gifts:

"Now concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not

have you ignorant. Ye know that when ye were Gentiles *ye were* led away unto those dumb idols, howsoever ye might be led. Wherefore I make known unto you, that no man speaking in the Spirit of God saith, Jesus is anathema; and no man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit."

Glossolalia and their interpretation, prophecy, reading of thoughts, ecstatic prayer, miracles, healings, exorcisms, immunity against poisonous serpents, vision in or out of ecstasy—everything extraordinary and unexplainable—all in this area is due to an activity of the Spirit.

Every Christian is a pneumatic. Every Christian received the Spirit with faith and baptism. The Spirit is the basic fact of the entire Christian life. It was the special achievement of Paul to transfer the activity of the Spirit from the cultus to the practical life.

It is not the historical Jesus and not the Christ of the Damascus road whom he identifies with the Spirit. It is the Kyrios worshipped by the church. The power which performed all the extraordinary activity when Christians meet—this is the Spirit, II Corinthians 3:1-18.

Almost imperceptible the Spirit present in worship glides over into the daily life of the Christian, so that the common place and the ordinary life becomes holy, Colossians 3:16 f:

"Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, as you teach and admonish one another in all wisdom, and as you sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs with thankfulness in your hearts to God. And whatever you do, in word or deed, do everything in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him." The life of the Christian is strengthened by worship. They are free men. In baptism they have put on Christ and become sons of God. The whole Christian life grows out of this relationship.

Jesus is the Son of God. Romans 1:3 f, "the gospel concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh and designated Son of God with power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead. Jesus Christ our Lord." So many centuries before the incarnation, the gospel of God was proclaimed in the Jewish Old Testament by the prophets and is true. All the books of the Old Testament are filled with descriptions of a coming salvation even if the Law has been abolished! The books of Moses, the prophets, Psalms—all testify to Christ.

What do they witness? What in a word is the gospel about? Jesus was the Son of God. There are two periods to his total career. He appeared as man in weakness of flesh, and born of David's line; he was installed by God to be the omnipotent Son of God as Spirit; he is now the reigning Son of God. Between the two periods lies the resurrection from the dead which has forever removed everything associated with sinful flesh. He was a Davidic once; now he is for us a Spirit form in heaven and reigning as Son of God.

The pre-existent one was (before he appeared in the flesh, born of woman and as Davidic) Son of God but he lost his Davidic nature and became Son of God with power, with sovereignty when he fulfilled his mission and was therefore designated reigning Son of God, Son with sovereignty. The exaltation had added something, had conferred something that he had not possessed before—*rule over the world*.

Paul accepted the natural birth of Jesus (Joseph was his father and Mary was his mother). The Davidic descent he mentions was a following of the tradition of the church.

There is very positive evidence that Paul both discriminated between Christ and God, but Christ belongs to God: "ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's." The Christian confession is not that Jesus is *theos* but that Jesus is *kyrios*; "Because if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as *kyrios* and shalt

believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." The majestic name conferred upon the obedient one was not *theos* or *soter* but *kyrios*: "Wherefore also God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name . . . that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is *kyrios* to the glory of God the Father." For Paul there is but one God: "For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth; as there are gods many, and lords many; yet to us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we unto him and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through him." In I Corinthians 15:23-28, Paul outlines the cosmic program, narrating the resurrection, the overthrow of all the opposing powers. Finally, the kingdom is delivered to God and the Son himself is subjected to God, that "God may be all in all." *Jewish monotheism survives in Paul the Christian with noteworthy persistence. And yet the worship of Kyrios exists in the Pauline churches side by side with that of God!*

Christ is for Paul the creator and soul of the cosmos. In Colossians 1:15-17, in a beautiful prayer, Paul says, identifying the Kyrios with the Logos, "He is the likeness of the invisible God, *the first born of all creation*; for in him were created, all things in heaven and upon earth, the seen and the unseen, whether angels and archangels and all the powers of heaven. The cosmos has been created *through him and unto him*. He was before everything—and the cosmos coheres in him."

It is about thirty years after the death of Jesus, and this is from Paul's pen! Passages like Proverbs 8:22-31, Ecclesiastes 1:4, Wisdom of Solomon 8:19,20 are similar. The phenomenon will be explained in the chapter on "The Second Life of Jesus."

There is a Christ mysticism in Paul *The mysticism of the mystery religious issues in identity with God*. There men cease to exist as men. They are god. But Paul never says, "I am Christ." In spite of all mysticism Paul preserves his own individuality. Christ remains transcendent, and Paul remains practical. In the same way even in the Pauline mysticism Christ does not merge with *theos*.

In II Corinthians 3:17 the apostle says, "the Lord is the Spirit." And "lord" here equals Christ. This identification of Christ and Spirit occurs in cosmological speculation. The Christian is in Christ as in the Spirit. Christ is in the Christian as the Spirit is in the Christian. There are other similar comparisons. Christ is heavenly power, a cosmic personal energy in which the Christian is and lives. On the other hand, Paul discriminates between the Spirit and Christ. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of ministrations and the same Lord."

Paul has made Jesus of Nazareth a heavenly Spirit and must in consequence reconsider his Jesus in the flesh and preserve his freedom from sin, II Corinthians 5:21, "*For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin*, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God." It is one of the most difficult tasks he took upon himself and out of his solution came Docetism.

Paul contrasts the pneumatic form of the being in glory and the great condescension involved in Jesus becoming voluntarily poor (II Corinthians 8:9) in exchanging his heavenly existence for an earthly one. This was his great act of love for our sake, the beginning of the work of redemption. "Who loved me and gave himself up for me," Galatians 2:20. In the second chapter of Philippians the great act of humiliation is described. For Paul humility is the reaction of purity to need.

Here is one who was the second man already possessed of divine form, the Son of God. He could have seized divine sovereignty but on the contrary surrendered what he had. For that act of humiliation God exalted him to sovereignty and bestowed upon him the name Kyrios, Philippians 2:9-11.

What did Christ give up? What did he exchange? Instead of retaining the divine form, he took the form of a servant. It is viewed as the putting on or off of a garment. As Christians take off the earthly life and put on the heavenly, II Corinthians 5:1 ff, so in reverse, Christ cast aside the body of glory and put on the body of humility, Philippians 3:21, and flesh, Colossians 2:11. Not that his inner person was affected. He did not become a different person. The man with a body of flesh and blood remained the same person: he was the heavenly man in an earthly form. Jesus on earth, according to Paul, had a dual character. He was born of a married woman and born under the law—like any other Jew, he was of the line of David, he was sired by a Davidic, Galatians 4:4, Romans 1:3. He had the form of a man, Philippians 2:7. Yet that is not all. He was also heavenly man. He originated in heaven. At the creation of the world he as pneumatic being was created the first-born before all creation, Colossians 1:17, I Corinthians 15:47.

Mirabile dictu, Paul combines two different kinds of being in Jesus. This kind of thinking is utterly foreign to our contemporary conception. But Paul had no idea of organic life. All nature was miracle. "But some one will ask, 'How are the dead raised? With what kind of body do they come?' You fool! What you sow does not come to life unless it dies. What you sow is not the body which is to be, but a bare kernel, perhaps of wheat or some other grain. But God grants it a body as he has chosen and to each kind of seed a peculiar body. (As if you could plant potatoes and obtain

tomatoes) . . . So it is with the resurrection of the dead. What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable. It is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory. It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. It is sown a physical body, it is raised a *soma pneumatikon* (spiritual body) . . . As we have borne the likeness of the man of dust, we shall also bear the likeness of the man of heaven."

As for preexistence, that was not difficult to accept in that age either. Later the brilliant Origen held it. Before the time, it is found in the Wisdom of Solomon, "Now I was a goodly child and good soul fell to my lot. Nay rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled," 8:19,20. Proverbs 8:22-31 may have been perused by Paul. "Yahweh created me at the beginning of his work."

"Before his works of old I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, before the earth was. When there were no depths, I was brought forth, when there were no fountains abounding with water. Before the mountains were settled, Before the hills was I brought forth; While as yet he had not made the earth, not the fields, Nor the beginning of the dust of the world. When he established the heavens, I was there: When he set a circle upon the face of the deep, When he made firm the skies above, When the fountains of the deep became strong, When he gave to the sea its bounds, That the waters should not transgress his commandment, When he marked out the foundations of the earth; Then I was by him, *as* a master workman; And I was daily *his* delight; Rejoicing always before him, Rejoicing in his habitable earth; And my delight was with the sons of men."

In the Graeco-Roman environment there were parallel ideas. "Reason, the father of all things, who is life and light, generates out of itself original man, who is like him, carries the image of his Father." "And therefore man above all

beings of earth is mortal according to his body; immortal according to the real man." "Immortal he was and would have had power over everything; now he suffers the fate of mortals, is subject to fate. Exalted was he over the harmony of nature, now he is a slave . . ."

There is another analogy in Romans 7 in the inner man and the outer man:

"For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I know not: for not what I would, that do I practice; but what I hate, that I do. But if what I would not, that I do, I consent unto the Law that it is good. So now it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me. For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me, but to do that which is good is not. For the good which I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I practice. But if what I would not, that I do, it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me. I find then the law, that, to me who would do good, evil is present. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity under the law of sin which is in my members."

The inner man under the influence of the spirit gradually matures so that finally the outer (mortal) man disappears and reveals the glory of the inner man. "So we do not lose heart. Though our outer nature is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed everyday," II Corinthians 4:16. "And we all, with unveiled face beholding the glory of the Lord are being changed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another," II Corinthians 3:18. "If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the grave dwells in you, he . . . will give life to your mortal bodies also . . .," Romans 8:11.

Paul thought of the relation between the heavenly man and his body of flesh and blood. Why did Jesus assume a body of flesh and blood? Paul's answer would have been: The Messiah was to die and desired to die for the redemption of man. If Paul had not joined up with the Christians, he would not have needed the concept of the incarnation. In that case, the messianic drama would have unfolded in some such way as this. The heavenly man, the Son of God in his glory would have descended for the world judgment and established the Kingdom of God. But as a Christian he had the fact of the cross on which had hung a crucified Messiah. He had to make a synthesis of the pneumatic Son of God and the crucified Son of God. They were one. Hence, the incarnation. But Paul's troubles were by no means over. Jesus really appeared in the flesh. He had a fleshy body, a body of sin, a body of death. Now there was a very intimate relation between the flesh and sin. For us, flesh is merely an idea, for Paul it was real. Sin was not an abstraction. Sin was power, it ruled, held sway over life, Jesus was under the law. Christ died to the law in the crucifixion when he parted from the body. Only through the body of flesh can the law rule. If Christ saved humanity from sin, he must have been completely human. He must have experienced sin in his own body. But how could he do that without becoming a sinner. Could a divine being undergo a full connection with human nature and remain sinless? Not for Paul! So Paul must say, "sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and as an offering for sin," Romans 8:3. The inward man must remain free from sin. The body of sin was an outer appearance—merely put on as an actor's masque. No organic fusion could occur between the divine and the human. Paul could not contemplate a genuine incarnation. He never said: "Jesus became man and was in all aspects of his being a man." What

he wrote was, he looked like a man, he moved about as a man, if you examined him the verdict would have been "man." But he was actually more than man.

That this was true, that Paul had a unique construction of Jesus, that his readers "wondered," that some Christians accused Paul of making Jesus a phantom, that here is the germ of both Docetism and Gnosticism will become evident in the next chapter.

20. *Docetism and the Wonder Child*

Paul never completely identified Jesus with sinful human flesh. Jesus was in the form of God; he took the appearance of a servant; he was born in the likeness of man; he came in human guise. Jesus was a man and yet different from man.

Men who read this letter to the Philippians puzzled over these expressions of difference. If Jesus had been completely human, why did Paul seem to hesitate about admitting it.

After Paul's death in the early or later sixties, some Gentile Christians expanded Paul's hesitating and halting affirmations into a denial of the physical existence of Jesus. Jesus had not been completely a person of flesh and blood but only a phantom. It was pointed out that he had eaten, had drunk, had slept, was weary on occasion, it was pointed out that the angels who visited Abraham had also eaten and drunk. And Philo and Justin had equated one of the angels who chatted with Abraham under the oaks of Mamre with the logos! There were Christians who felt that the logos was Christ. Did not Christ thereby become a phantom? Moreover how could the divine mingle with the human? "Not in the flesh did Jesus come nor was he born of Mary." Jesus could not have made contact with sinful flesh through Mary. He was

an illusion, an angel in human form. He was truly God. A supernatural physical birth for the God, Jesus, was unthinkable. The alleged amours of Zeus could not apply to the one and only God of Judaism. Such a mingling of the divine and the hopelessly defiled human could not be grasped much less comprehended.

What was the church to do? It had not been concerned with the birth and infancy of Jesus. There was no authentic teaching to oppose to this novel interpretation of Jesus. "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God . . . was the appearance of John the baptizer, in the wilderness, preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins . . . In those days Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized by John in the Jordan"—Mark implies that the birth and early years of Jesus do not matter. The gospel of Jesus begins with the repentance baptism of John. The group of Christians who questioned the reality of the physical existence of Jesus was the Docetae. They emerge during the closing decade of the first century and compel the church to explain the birth of Jesus.

The self-consciousness of Jesus betrays no acquaintance with the assumption of an extraordinary birth for him. His parents were Joseph and Mary, wholly unaware of it. His brothers were natural brothers not cousins—even they did not believe in him as a wonder child. Paul is emphatic: Jesus was born of a married woman and born under the Jewish law. The fourth gospel, John 1:13, corrected "Who were born" into "who was born" and John 7:26, "Can it be that the authorities really know that this is the Christ?" is significant. John 1:45 lets Philip call Jesus, the "son of Joseph." John 6:42, "they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?" Only Matthew and Luke in the entire New Testament in their present form make men-

tion of the wonder birth, in Matthew 1:20 and Luke 1:35. *The manuscript Syriac Sinaiticus in Matthew 1:16 lets Joseph beget Jesus and is accepted by von Soden and Moffatt.*

The genealogies inserted in Matthew and Luke are in invincible contradiction to each other and in addition are in direct denial of the wonder birth. That birth is opposed to all human ancestry. The composer of it in Luke carries it beyond David to Adam the son of God.

The genealogy now found in the first chapter of the gospel according to Matthew is represented to be that of Joseph. Likewise the genealogy found in Luke 3:23-38 is supposed to be that of Joseph. But these two genealogies are "totally different and irreconcilable." Matthew has 40 generations between Abraham and Joseph; Luke has 55 generations for the same span of time and there is but slight correspondence in names. How Christians a century after Jesus could trace his ancestral line has always been a puzzle. There was no genealogical section available in a library at Jerusalem for research purposes.

Chrysostom in the late fourth century was still honest enough to admit that the genealogy in Matthew is that of Joseph and was puzzled:

"Why is Joseph's genealogy traced, who had not part in the birth . . . He would not that it should be manifest, to the Jews, at the time of the birth that Christ was born of a virgin . . . it is no statement of mine, but of our fathers, wonderful and illustrious men . . . That the virgin should be preserved and delivered from evil suspicions. For if this had been discovered by the Jews from the beginning, they would have stoned the virgin, making the report a handle for mischief, and would have condemned her for adultery."

The Roman Catholic church is aware of the impossibility

of reconciling these two genealogies, but guarantees them "by the divine infallible voice of an authoritative teaching church."

It notices three theories in explanation. In the third century, Julius Africanus suggested that Jacob was the real father of Joseph and Heli his legal father according to Deuteronomy 25:5. For twelve centuries the Church got by with this theory. But levirate marriages must then be assumed to explain Shealtiel and Matthan to say nothing of all the other contradictions.

In the late fifteenth century, Anniius of Viterbo argued that the genealogy in Matthew is that of Joseph while that in Luke is the genealogy of Mary. But the Jews traced genealogy by paternal ancestors only and the early church is in invincible ignorance as far as this hypothesis is concerned. That does not prevent modern fundamentalism from resorting to it.

A third solution of the problem of the genealogies is that Matthew gives the legitimate succession whereas Luke gives the real and legal ancestors of Jesus. But then Matthew's genealogy would have only conventual value, based on the numerical value of the three Hebrew letters in David's name, namely fourteen! A glance at parallel genealogies in the Old Testament indicates omission of many names to make this scheme work. One wonders whether the "artificial symmetry" of Matthew is worse than this reconciling hypothesis.

Genealogies based upon the line of the father are out of harmony with hypotheses of a miraculous birth. Joseph cannot possibly be father and not be father.

The purpose of the genealogy in the gospel according to Matthew was to proclaim that Jesus was a descendant of David through his father Joseph. The Sinaitic Syriac defi-

nately demonstrates this. The latter reads: "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary a virgin, begat Jesus who is called the Christ."

But did the early church endorse the David descent of Jesus? Paul did. Was he responsible for this interpretation? Some have so held because Mark 12:35 represents Jesus as pointing out that "David himself calls him Lord; so how is he his son?"

It is important to remember that centuries later Helvidius violently opposed Jerome's thesis that Jesus had no brothers, that Mary was always virgin, insisting instead that Joseph was in fact the husband of Mary and they had natural children.

The Ebionites held tenaciously to the true humanity of Jesus. They let his sonship begin at his baptism, "Thou art my beloved Son, *this day have I begotten thee.*" The Holy Spirit entered Jesus at baptism and made him then and there Son of God. For these Judean Christians, Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary according to the ordinary course of human generation. *Some members of the church of Rome early in the second century shared this conviction.*

From this digression, we return to Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch, who saw the danger to the church in the argument with the Docetists, which was not yet a heresy. In Ignatius to the Ephesians 7:2, 18:2:

"There is one Physician, who is both flesh and spirit, born yet not born, God in man, true life in death, both of Mary and of God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord."

"For our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived by Mary by the dispensation of God, as well as of the seed of David both of the seed of David and Holy Spirit."

Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans 1:1, 2:1 f, 3:1 f, 4:1, 5:2, 7:1:

“Truly born of a Virgin . . . truly nailed to a tree *in the flesh*, truly suffered, truly raised himself, not as some unbelievers say, *that his Passion was merely in semblance* but it is they who are merely in semblance, and even according to their opinions it shall happen to them and *they shall be without bodies and phantasmal.*”

“For if it is merely in semblance that these things were done by our Lord *I am also a prisoner in semblance*. And why then have I given myself up to death, to fire, to the sword, to wild beasts.”

“For what does anyone profit me if he praise me but blaspheme my Lord, and does not confess *that he was clothed in flesh.*”

“They abstain from the eucharist and prayer because they do not confess that the eucharist is the flesh of our Savior Jesus Christ who suffered for our sins.”

In Ignatius to the Trallians 9:1,10:

“his suffering was only a semblance (but it is they who are merely a semblance) why am I a prisoner, and why do I even long to fight with the beasts? In that case I am dying in vain. Then, indeed, am I lying concerning the Lord. “Be deaf therefore when anyone speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the family of David, and of *Mary* who was *truly born*, both ate and drank, was *truly persecuted* under Pontius Pilate was *truly crucified and died in the sight* of those in heaven and on earth and under the earth;—who also was *truly raised* from the dead . . .”

For Ignatius, the wonder birth was the establishment of the humanity, was the reply of the church to the Docetists who alleged that Jesus was a demon. Jesus was truly born. So powerful was the argument of Ignatius that Jesus was truly born of a virgin that the second century church accepted it. This is just the reversal of the contention today that the virgin birth established the true divinity of Jesus.

This new faith was successively a Christological conviction, or a theologumenon. Jesus was born by miracle but the manner of the miracle was not described. Thereupon Jesus was described as born beyond the family relationship. At the third remove from reality, Joseph became the husband of Mary but not the father of Jesus. Now the Graeco-Roman concept of a fatherless birth becomes at home in Christianity. This is the situation described in Matthew 1:18 and Luke 1:35 "... but, before the marriage occurred, she found herself to be with child by the power of the Holy Spirit." "The Holy Spirit shall come over you and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you; and therefore, the child will be called 'holy' and 'Son of God'."

The fourth step is not taken in the documents of the New Testament. *Nowhere within its pages is the birth of Jesus described.* That step where the birth of Jesus becomes legend and myth and which is technically known as "theogamy" is first met with in extra-New Testament documents such as the Ascension of Isaiah, the Epistola Apostolorum, the Protevangelium, and others. Here is a sample of theogamy:

"Then after three months Joseph put Mary on an ass to go to Bethlehem to be taxed; and as they were going, Mary besought him to take her down, and Joseph took her down and carried her into a cave, and leaving her there with his sons, he went to seek a midwife. As he went he looked up and saw the clouds astonished and all creatures amazed. The

fowls stopped in their flight; the working people sat at their food but did not eat; the sheep stood still; the shepherds' lifted hands became fixed; the kids were touching the water with their mouths but did not drink. A midwife came down from the mountains and Joseph took her with him to the cave, and a bright cloud overshadowed the cave, and the cloud became a great light, and when the bright light faded, there appeared an infant at the breast of Mary enwrapped in swaddling clothes."

"The midwife said to Mary, 'Art thou the mother of this child?' Mary assented. The midwife made an examination, shrieking: 'It hath never been heard or thought of that . . . the birth of a son should show his mother to be a virgin.' A second midwife, who doubts the story, examined the patient and confirmed the virgin birth. As punishment for her unbelief the second midwife beheld her hand wither away. But on touching the infant at the command of an angel, she was straightway cured."

In his dialogue with Trypho, the Jew, an imaginary conversation of about A.D. 135, Justin the Martyr, living in Rome but probably out of communion with the regular church there lets Trypho say that those Christians who reject the virgin birth, as a pagan myth, state what is more probable than those Christians who affirm faith in the virgin birth. Justin makes reply!

"It is quite true that some people of our kind acknowledge him to be the Christ, but at the same time declared him to have been man of men. I, however, cannot agree with them, and will not do so, even if the majority (of Christians) insist upon this opinion and impart it to me; for by Christ himself we have been commended to base our conclusions, not on human teachings but upon predictions set forth by the blessed prophets and reported in his teaching."

Is Justin referring to the majority of Christians in the

world or in Rome? In either case it is clear that the doctrine of the virgin birth has not won general acceptance among Christians even near the mid-second century.

In another passage, Justin admits that the messiahship of Jesus is consistent with his having been "born man of men" and may have been conferred by appointment.

He himself accepts the alleged prediction of Isaiah 7:14 that the *Christ would be born of a virgin*.¹

Over and over again Justin apologizes for the Christian faith in the virgin birth by discovering analogies among the Greeks and the Romans. Thereupon he disowns the analogies by considering them deceptions of wicked devils. The Christian verity cannot be set aside by Satanic imitations. The Romans with Jupiter, Mercury, Aesculapius, Bacchus, Hercules, the Sons of Leda, the Dioscuri, Perseus, Bellerophon, Ariadne, Ganymede and such like on their hands ought not to criticize the assumption of a Christian wonder child, Justin contends.

For Tertullian, there is no doubt whatever that Jesus was virgin born,

"We believe always . . . that there is also a Son of the one God, his Logos, who hath proceeded from himself, by whom all things were made and without whom nothing was made; in him sent by the Father into the Virgin and born of her, man and God, son of man, and son of God, and called Jesus Christ."

and again,

"Thus Christ is Spirit of Spirits, and God of Gods, as light of light is kindled . . . This ray of God, then, as it was always foretold in ancient times, descending

into a certain virgin and made flesh in her womb, is in His birth God and man united. The flesh formed by the Spirit is nourished, grows up to manhood, speaks, teaches, works, and is the Christ."

In the fifth century Christians were still apologizing for the virgin birth of Jesus. Rufinus, who broadcast the legend of the apostolic origin of the apostles' creed, mythological in every detail, also had something to say about Jesus' birth from a virgin:

"Why should it be thought marvellous for a virgin to conceive, when it is well known that the Eastern bird, which they call the Phoenix, is in such wise born, or born again, without the intervention of a mate, that it remains continually one, and continually by being born or born again succeeds itself? That bees know no wedlock, and no bringing forth of young is notorious. There are also other things which are found to be subject to some such laws of birth. Shall it be thought incredible, then, that that was done by divine power, for the renewal and restoration of the whole world, of which instances are observed in the nativity of animals? And yet it is strange that the Gentiles should think this impossible, who believe their own Minerva to have been born from the brain of Jupiter. Again they say that Father Bacchus was born from Jupiter's thigh. Venus also, whom they call Aphrodite, was born, they believe, of the foam of the sea . . ."

A digression is in order here because Paul is called the father of the dogma of original sin. What are the facts? In Genesis 2 and 3 the creation of man is related and his cursing

by God for having eaten of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in the midst of the garden "for in the day that you eat of it you shall die." This is beautiful myth not original in Israel but transmitted from abroad. The historian of course cannot any longer base a dogma valid for the contemporary age upon a myth. In the remainder of the Old Testament this speculation is not mentioned again. Psalm 8:6 f and Ecclesiastes 7:29 imply the reverse. The apocryphal literature considers the problem of man further and Ecclesiasticus 17:3 ff, 25:32, Wisdom 2:23 f, 10:1 are pertinent passages. In the pseudepigraphic writings, IX Ezra 3:7, 21 26; 4:27 f, 7:11 ff, 116 f and Baruch 48:22, 17:3, 23:4, 54:15, 56:5 there is more reflection upon the lot of man. Jesus does not at all make original sin an item of his thought. Acts 17:28 ff is an earth's circumference away from it! How Paul's argument about the veil for women, I Corinthians 11:7, can be related to original sin is beyond all comprehension! There remains Romans 5:12 ff. Four translations are compared: The Douay, the Confraternity Version, the King James, and the Revised Standard.

Douay

Therefore as by one man sin entered into this world, and by sin death; and so death passed upon all men, *in whom* all have sinned.

King James

Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, *for that* all have sinned.

Confraternity

Therefore as through one man sin entered into the world and through sin death, and thus death passed into all men *because* all have sinned.

Revised Standard

Therefore as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men *because* all men sinned.

The words *eph'o* of the Greek text were rendered *in quo* in the Latin mistakenly. *Eph'o* means "inasmuch as" or "because." When it was translated in whom, the mischief was

done and Paul was saddled with the error of teaching the "original sin" dogma. Whereas Paul clearly teaches in Romans 1:1-3:20 that each man is guilty through his own knowledge of the law, his intention of committing sin, and the overt act of having individually transgressed the law. *All have themselves sinned*. Guilt morally considered must be individual and cannot be transmitted. Heredity is a law of nature but not responsibility for the inheritance. We cannot choose our ancestors. There is no original sin in either the Old Testament or the New Testament. In the Old Testament only the evil trend and the good trend—the *yezer hara* and *yezer tobb*—are taught.

The church by adopting the doctrine of wonder child as explanation of the birth of Jesus, had delivered him from all taint of sin. But this was before original sin had become ecclesiastical dogma. Tertullian had moved beyond separate acts of sinning to abstraction. Sin was natural for a descendant of Adam because of human generation. Thus, he prepared the way for the doctrine of original sin. What is inherited is physical. Tertullian speaks of an age of innocence. He must disapprove of an early baptism for infants on that account. Inherited sin was for him contagion but not *guilt*.

A couple of centuries after Tertullian the doctrine of original sin entered Christian theology. How does the soul originate according to the new way of thinking? Origen had held that it pre-existed. That was in agreement with Oriental assumptions. Jerome was proposing creationism, the soul was created by God in the body of the mother. The view held by Augustine was traducianism. The soul originated in the body of the mother as a result of the union of the male and female elements. Both the father and the mother contributed of their own bodies to the formation of the child. The contemporary child was thus traced back and back and back until "Adam"

became its first progenitor. Through such reasoning Adam was not merely the father of Cain and Abel but of the human race. That involved the doctrine of heredity and the taint of original sin. Adam's sin was perpetuated in his immediate offspring and carried down to contemporary times. Every living person by nature had that sin in him. He was therefore under penalty to suffer the consequences of his guilt!

The consequences of this theory for Christology were unspeakable. For now innocent babies could be held responsible for Adam's sin. (Calvin held this ferocious doctrine even for babies.) The Docetists and Gnostics and their descendants had proclaimed that Jesus was a phantom, a semblance. The church on the other hand had affirmed that Jesus was truly born, really born. He actually was fully human not only in outward form but in his inward nature. He was man; he actually possessed a human nature. He was truly born of Mary, and Mary was also truly human. This took care of all emergencies. If Jesus passed through the body of Mary like water through a sieve, then nothing in Mary could condition Jesus. But as truly born he now was understood to have taken something from Mary. The virgin birth protected Jesus completely as long as it protected him from only the sin of the father. *But if original sin was in Mary, the virgin birth was of no aid at all. For original sin* according to the new view was in Mary when she gave birth to Jesus. She passed it on to Jesus. Then it was in him.

What was to be done! The only way of cancelling original sin in Jesus was to remove it from Mary also. You could think of a special method of obtaining a special ancestry by a miracle in every generation until Adam was reached and thus to keep the line of Mary free from original sin. Why

not have one miracle limited to Mary? Keep Mary free and clear of original sin at the moment of her conception in the womb of her mother. This faith was finally triumphant in the church, although it was December 8, 1854 ere Pius IX proclaimed it. Roman Catholicism has been far more consistent regarding the virgin birth than Protestantism. Protestantism accepts the dogma of original sin although the Jews had no such doctrine. It does not exist for centuries after the close of the New Testament. It is unknown to both the Old and New Testament. Having accepted the doctrine of original sin and the virgin birth, it does nothing to make its view of the sinlessness of Jesus logical.

In A.D. 431 at Ephesus the bishops wrangled over whether or not the virgin mother of Jesus ought to be called Mary, the Mother of God. The environment had referred to Mothers of God. Paganism was now suppressed but its power lingered in more ways than one. At the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 Mary officially became the Mother of God. The assumption of Mary was celebrated in the Roman Church as a folk festival. On November 1, 1950 the people's faith resulted in its proclamation as a dogma. The New Testament does not refer to the birth, the death, or the resurrection of Mary. In the fifth century it was allegedly stated that "Mary died in the presence of all the Apostles, but that when her tomb was opened upon the request of St. Thomas, it was found empty; wherefore the Apostles concluded that the body was taken up to heaven." In the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, we find this: "Regarding the day, year, and manner of Our Lady's death, nothing certain is known. Epiphanius (d. 403) acknowledged that he knew nothing definite about it. The dates assigned for it vary between 3 and 15 years after Christ's Ascension."

21. *Gnosticism's Attempt to Separate Christianity From its Past.*

Gnosticism was at first pre-Christian Oriental mysticism, a way of salvation, a redemptive process. It paid attention to the heavenly origin of man. It recognized the difference between human existence and all other earthly existence. The earth was not man's home. As a form of redemptive, saving knowledge it made its appeal to Christianity. It taught that men of the spirit were always greater than men of soul and flesh and matter. Redemption signified the return of the divine spark imprisoned within the world of sin and death to the upper realm of the pleroma.

Gnostics did not regard Christianity as a mission field in which they were foreigners but as Christian teachers they sought the support of the churches. And Christians were in danger of apostasy. They appear in the Pauline churches. "I know that after my departure fierce wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves will arise men speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them." They acquire the standing of Christian apostles in the church—"For such men are false apostles, deceitful workmen, disguising themselves as apostles of Christ. If anyone comes to you and does not bring this doctrine (of Christ) do not receive him into the house or give him any greeting; for he who greets him shares his wicked work."

"As for a man who is factious, after admonishing him once or twice, have nothing to do with him." "Now the Spirit expressly says that in the later times some will depart from the faith by giving heed to deceitful spirits and doctrines of demons." These men "also oppose the truth, men

of corrupt mind and counterfeit faith, but they will not get very far, for their folly will be plain to all . . .”

Gnosticism absorbed ideas from all religions. It made use of sacred texts by means of allegorical interpretations. Greek myths in the Old Testament creation story were synthesized. It had a kinship with the Christian message and also strong contrasts. Gnostic terminology was employed by Christianity. The kyrios cult drew Christianity into this syncretistic process. For Christianity, creation was the work of the one true God; the creator-God and the redeemer-God were one and the same; there was no heavenly journey of the self; there was a resurrection of the dead and last judgment; the humanity of Jesus was real; the historical Jesus was the redeemer. For Gnosticism, creation was the work of an inferior God, the creator-God and the Father of Jesus were different Gods, there was a flight through the aeons, there was no resurrection or final judgment, Jesus was a phantom, Jesus the Savior was distinct from the Jesus of history.²

Gnosticism developed schemes, programs of redemption, being always dualistic and relative. Man was possession of divine and human elements—for he was son of God as well as possessed of earthly elements. Man suffers *not* because of his own sin and guilt but because of a divine tragedy. Redemption of man is necessary for God who suffers as long as there is a remnant of evil left in the cosmos. Its form is ascent to God.

To know of the heavenly origin of one's self; that here we are foreigners makes the way of redemption of special importance. When the self separates at death from the body and the soul soars to worlds unknown to be purified that is salvation. This consciousness makes him supreme—he is intimately related to the cosmos. The Gnostic is born from above. The demonic forces have enmeshed a person who had

originated in the upper realm and merely been led astray by the forces of the lower realm.

God for the Gnostic is a philosophical abstraction with mystical trimmings. All proceeds from the internal necessity of the divine nature and from unity to diversity. All the lost divine elements finally return to their source. Everything is finally reabsorbed into the original, all inclusive nameless one, the final abstraction. The ascent to the upper realm is accomplished not only by thought but the use of magical words and rites. The Creator-God is inferior to the Father of Jesus. The demiurge who is the God of the Old Testament made a poor job of creation.

Gnosticism rejected the Old Testament because it was polytheistic, because Yahweh was evil, malicious, ignorant, got angry, repented. They claimed that Jesus criticized it, "wherefore ye do err not knowing the *true* things of the Scriptures" and they set out to discover those true things. The Old Testament, they said, contained the doctrines of pairs and contraries: light and darkness; disease and health; error and truth; male and female; Cain and Abel; Esau and Jacob. The Old Testament was given orally to Moses. Ignorant scribes had tampered with it and are responsible for its errors. The Old Testament is filled with falsehoods, placed there as a test to determine character and fitness for salvation. For one who accepts evil of God is damned; one who does not is saved. One can determine the evil or the good by conscience, by inward authority, and by comparing Scripture with facts.

Favorite texts of the Gnostics for polytheism of the Old Testament were: Genesis 1:26, "Then God said, *Let us* make man;" Exodus 20:3, "You shall have no other gods in my presence;" Deuteronomy 10:7, "For the Lord your God is

God of gods, and Lord of lords, the great, the mighty, and the terrible God, who is not partial and takes no bribes;" Psalms 82:1, "God has taken his place in the divine council; in the midst of the gods he holds judgment."

To prove that the God of the Old Testament was evil, malicious, ignorant, repenting, the Gnostics cited among many other passages:

Genesis 8:21, "And Yahweh smelled the sweet savor; and Yahweh said in his heart, I not again will curse the ground any more for man's sake, for that the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again smite any more everything living, as I have done."

Genesis 22:1 ff, "And it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham, and said unto him, *Abraham*; and he said, *Here am I*. And he said, Take now thy son, *thine only son, whom thou lovest*, even Isaac, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of."

In Mark 12:24, "Wherefore ye do err, not knowing the things of the Scriptures." The Gnostics very cleverly inserted "true" making the passage read, "not knowing the (true) things of the Scriptures." This made them into searchers for the falsehoods in the Bible.

For Gnosticism, salvation was release from matter. In Christ the distant God had entered the world. The redeeming aeon had entered Christ at baptism and departed from him again before the cross. The body of Jesus was real but not material, visible but psychic. The humanity of Jesus was an illusion. There was no vital union between the high aeon that descended from the pleroma and the physical body of Jesus. Jesus came to rescue the divine spark in man. Gnosis was a way of redemption through knowledge. But it could

help only the pneumatics, while faith saved the psychics. Men of the Spirit were superior to those of soul and could demonstrate their freedom by asceticism or libertinism.

How does it come that the Gnostic movement which in its beginnings and fundamentals had nothing to do with Christianity became so intimately concerned and united with it so that it seems like a parallel movement? The answer must be: it is the form which Paul gave Christianity which made it so attractive to Gnostic circles. The magnetic power of Christianity for Gnosticism was the Pauline emphasis upon Christianity as a religion of redemption. Gnosticism selected Paul as its teacher. At the very time when the orthodox church was becoming suspicious of Paul and attempted completely to neglect him the Gnostics read his letters, gathered them, wrote commentaries upon them and appealed to his authority. To be sure, they had to misinterpret his writings to make them serviceable to their purpose. They demonized the natural world, they despised the God of the Old Testament, while Paul wrote, "Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made." "They show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, while their conscience also bears witness and their conflicting thoughts accuse them or perhaps excuse them on that day when, according to my gospel, God judges all the secrets of men by Christ Jesus." But Paul also had a pessimistic doctrine of the flesh which the Gnostics show. Paul had dared to speak of the devil as the "God of this age." They could discover dualism in Paul's argument against the law. Galatians is full of assertions the Gnostics could use. Romans says that the law brought knowledge of sin (Romans 3:20), of wrath (4:15) and raises the question whether the law is sin (7:7). Paul was very near their view that the law was given by a

hostile power in Galatians 3:19. The Gnostics were just drawing the hidden consequences of Paul's thinking! I Corinthians 7 influenced the Gnostics to reject marriage. The Gnostics had a splendid sword in Paul's "flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God." They rejected the resurrection of the flesh. The peculiar dualism of Gnosticism lay in its demonizing of the constellations. Paul did not know of good angelic powers. "None of the rulers of this age understood this; for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory," I Corinthians 2:8, "That is why a woman ought to have a veil on her head *because of the angels*," I Corinthians 11:10. An angel of the Satan harassed Paul, II Corinthians 12:7. Christians will some day judge the angels, I Corinthians 6:3.

In the Gnostic theology of salvation, myth completely replaced history. They united mythical figures of redemption with Jesus of Nazareth and made a place for him in their systems. But they faced the enigma of explaining how Jesus could become a real man. They had recourse to the baptism of Jesus where the Soter, or Christ, or Logos, or the name, or the preexistent man descended upon him. They even half way compromised with the wonder-child idea. The countless forms in which the Gnostic ideology appears testify to its fertility. It came very close to winning a victory over Christianity. The Gnostics definitely influenced Paul.

22. *God-Savior as Title and Name of Jesus.*

Only in the later documents of the New Testament is Jesus occasionally called *Theos Soter*, that is God-Savior. Why is Jesus not called God-Savior in the Synoptic gospels, in the saying source, in Romans, in I, II Corinthians, in Galatians, in Colossians?

It appears in Isaiah about eight times of God, Isaiah 43:3, "I am the Lord your God, the Holy One of Israel your Savior;" 43:11, "I am the Lord and besides me there is no Savior!" 45:15, "O God of Israel, the Savior," 45:21, "a righteous God and Savior." Jeremiah has one instance, "O thou hope of Israel, its Savior in time of trouble." Hosea 13:4, "Lord God, besides me there is no Savior." In the Psalter there is also a single instance, 106:21 "they forgot God their Savior who had done great things in Egypt." Notice that only in the Jeremiah quote God does not accompany Savior. All the others have God and Savior. It could be agreed that the church, as in the parallel case of Yahweh translated Kyrios, drew their usage of Savior from the Old Testament. But we observed in the Yahweh-Kyrios case that it was the Greek Christians that first applied Kyrios to Christ. Here there is a parallel instance, this is Greek-Christian usage. And similarly we shall demonstrate that *Theos-Soter*, God-Savior, was the customary term applied to the rulers of the Graeco-Roman world.

Paul in his undoubted letters has only one instance of the title Savior applied to Jesus, Philippians 3:20, "But our commonwealth is in heaven, and from it we await a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body, by the power which enables him even to subject all things to himself." The passage is perhaps influenced by the eschatological style of the Old Testament where Yahweh appears as *goel*. And we must not forget that Paul though a monotheist could apply the same passages to God and to Christ.

Luke 1:47 says "my soul magnifies the *Lord*, and my spirit rejoices in *God my Savior*" which seems to be an instance of Hebrew parallelism; Luke 2:11, "for there is born

this day in the city of David a Savior who is Christ the Lord." Jesus is Savior, Christ is Kyrios.

Acts 5:31, "God exalted him at his right hand as leader and Savior to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sin"; Acts 13:23, "Out of David's posterity God has brought to Israel a Savior, Jesus, as he promised."

I Timothy 1:1, "Paul an apostle of Christ Jesus by command of God our Savior and Christ Jesus our hope." Here the fixed combination, Theos Soter is applied to God. I Timothy 4:10, "For to this end we toil and strive, because we have our hope set on the living God, who is the Savior of all men, especially of those who believe." Observe the similarity in these two passages. In the former, Jesus Christ is the hope; in the latter, the living God.

In I Timothy 1:10, Jesus is called Savior: "which he gave us in Christ Jesus ages ago and has now manifested through the appearance of our Savior Jesus Christ." *God and Christ Jesus are approaching identity through Savior!*

Titus 1:4, "Grace and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Savior;" 2:10 "so that in everything they may adorn the doctrine of God our Savior;" 2:13, "awaiting our blessed hope, the appearing of the glory of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ." The author of Titus has made the identification of God Christ Jesus through Savior!

John 4:42, "It is no longer because of your words that we believe, for we have heard for ourselves, and we know that this is indeed the Savior of the world;" I John 4:14, "and we have seen and testify that the Father has sent his Son as the Savior of the World." *The Logos was God. This is the only begotten God.*

Ignatius of Antioch has references to Christ Jesus as Savior in Ephesians 1:1; Magnesians in the greeting; Philadel-

phians in 9:2, Smyrnaeans in 7:1. Polycarp in his epistle to the Philippians, "Polycarp and the elders with him to the Church of God sojourning in Philippi; mercy and peace from God Almighty and Jesus Christ our Savior be multiplied to you." The Gospel of Peter IV, 13 likewise calls Christ, Savior.

Some of these references have a specific relation to Antioch and all of them to Greek churches in Asia Minor.

Instances in a mid-second century document which goes under the name of II Peter, are found 1:1, 1:11, 2:20, 3:2,18:

"To those who have obtained a faith of equal standing with ours in the righteousness of our God our Savior Jesus Christ; so there will be richly provided for you an entrance into the eternal Kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ."

"For if, after they have escaped the defilements of the world through the knowledge of our Lord and Savior through your apostles."

"But grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. To him be the glory both now and to the day of eternity. Amen."

Finally, there is the benediction of Jude 25, "To the only God, our Savior through Jesus Christ our Lord, be glory, majesty, dominion, and authority, before all time and now and forever, Amen."

We have cited about all the instances in the New Testament of the title Theos-Soter and have found that it is a fixed combination. Those who have wondered why it emerged in the late first or early second century, why Jesus throughout his life for such a long time after his death was not called Savior may discover the answer here, *because he*

was not called God! When he has become God the Savior-title is also applied to him. Even the formulas, Hosanna to the Son of David, consecrated by both Old Testament and the gospels, is transformed into Hosanna to the God of David in the Didache 10:5. The homily which we usually refer to as II Clement in its opening verse shows that Jesus has definitely become God. "Brethren, we must *think of Jesus Christ as of God*, as the judge of the living and the dead, and we must not think of our salvation."

The title theos-soter was derived by the Gentile Christians from the practise of the Ptolemies in calling themselves God and Savior, from the Caesar cult, and from the Greek mysteries. Isis and Serapis are god-saviors. The previous worship of Jesus as Kyrios by the Greek churches also contributed its part.

23. *The Anonymous Life of Jesus.*

This is called the "pneumatic gospel" by Clement of Alexandria and the "Gospel of the Spirit" by Colwell and Titus.—Hans Lietzmann pays the Fourth Gospel and its unknown author this compliment:

"Johannine Christianity is deeply rooted in the tradition of a church (Ephesus) whose history had been decisively determined by Paul. This Christianity had already been profoundly influenced by a high tide of Gnosticism. But a preeminent spirit had synthesized these elements into a unity which attains brilliant expression in the Fourth Gospel. If among the disciples in the Post-Apostolic age there was no one who rightly understood the Master Paul, here is one who with equal right discerned the mind of Paul both in its cosmic extent as in its religious depth but who also transfigured its stormy passions into an enthusiastic divine intimacy. He saw

in the gospel history the incarnation of the divine Logos. Christianity signified for him in vital reality Heaven on earth."

Paul had interpreted the post-Calvary Jesus as Lord, as Son of God, as preexistent heavenly man, as creator and soul of the cosmos, as the Spirit, as becoming poor for our sakes, as submitting to death on a cross that man might be saved.

The anonymous author of the Fourth Gospel had read all this in Paul and apparently concentrated on II Corinthians 3:17, the Lord is the Spirit. At least as early as Clement of Alexandria it had become clearly discerned that this gospel was essentially different from the first three similar ones and deserved to be called the pneumatic gospel or the "gospel of the Spirit." He was living toward the middle of the second century and had noticed the antagonism between Jew and Christian at that time. Taking his position there, he projected the Lord as worshipped in the Christian church of the second century back into the time when the man of Galilee walked among men. This projection actually transformed the Jesus of history into God. A fictitious relationship between Jesus of Nazareth and the Jesus of Palestine in A.D. 30 resulted. For they are made to reflect the situation which only developed after the wars against the Roman empire.

Later the anonymous gospel was assigned to a John and that enhanced its prestige. But Ignatius in writing to the Ephesians in the time of Trajan (A.D. 98-117) has this to say, "I know who I am and to whom I write. I am condemned, you have obtained mercy; I am in danger, you are established in safety; you are the passage for those who are being slain for the sake of God, *fellow-initiates with Paul*, who was sanctified, who gained a good report, who was right blessed, in whose footsteps may I be found when I shall attain to God, *who in every Epistle makes mention of you*

in Christ Jesus." The anonymous author of the Fourth Gospel cannot be John the apostle for that John was dead and is not known in Ephesus. Paul was the apostle of the Ephesian church. The sons of Zebedee, John and James, met with early martyrdom, as related in Mark 10:35-40. There is a fast day in the Eastern church held in memory of John and James on December 27. In Acts 12:2, "About that time Herod the king laid violent hands upon some who belonged to the church. *He killed James, the brother of John with the sword.*"

There are five titles in this gospel for Jesus: 1. Kyrios; 2. Son of man; 3. Theos Soter; 4. Son of God; 5. Logos.

The Kyrios title so frequent and important in Paul's letters disappears almost completely in the anonymous gospel. In the first nineteen chapters it is absent except in the narrative of the resurrection. Kyrios is also wanting in the Epistle of John. It appears in the Fourth Gospel 20:18, "Mary Magdalene went and said to the disciples, 'I have seen the Kyrios;'" and 20:28, "Thomas answered 'My Lord and my God.'"

The distinctive title of the Jerusalem church "Son of man" is found in the anonymous gospel, 1:51, "angels ascending and descending upon the Son of man;" 3:13,14, "no one has ascended into heaven but he who descended from heaven, the Son of man;" 6:27,53, "Son of man," "unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood;" 8:28, "When you have lifted up the Son of man;" 9:35, "do you believe in the Son of man;" 12:23, "hour had come for the Son of man to be glorified;" 12:34, "who is this Son of man."

He knows the apocalyptic meaning of this title. John says, 1:30, "after me comes a man who ranks before me, for he was before me;" 3:31, "he who comes *from above* is above all;" 6:33, "for the bread of heaven is that which *comes*

down from heaven and gives life to the world;" 6:41, "Jews murmured, because he said; I am the bread which came down from heaven;" 8:57 f. "Abraham saw my day . . ." "you are not yet fifty years old and you have seen Abraham!" "Truly, truly I say unto you, before *Abraham was*, I am!" "I and the Father are one;" 5:27, "He will be judge of the world." The preexistent, transcendent Son of man is Jesus.

By this usage, the author still has some connection with Palestine Christianity. At the same time he is detaching Son of man from Jewish eschatology and apocalypticism and from the enthusiastic expectation of the Son of man's parousia in popular Christianity. In the same breath he makes Jesus judge but also spiritualizes him and the event so as almost completely to destroy the future coming. Son of man becomes the covering term which surpasses all earthly titles. Preexistence and eternal glory makes the earthly career of Jesus merely an episode.

It was the author of the Fourth Gospel who introduced the term *logos* into the Christian vocabulary. This title originated in Graeco-Roman circles and was transmitted to Christianity by the Johannine literature. John 1:1, "In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God;" 1:14, "And the Logos became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth." I John 1:1 has "logos of life." Revelation 19:13, reads "the name by which he is called is the Logos of God."

Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, in his Epistle to the Magnesians 8:2 reads, "Jesus Christ his son *who is his Logos* proceeding from silence" and the introduction to his Epistle to the Smyrnaeans, ". . . abundant greeting in a *blameless Spirit and in the Logos of God*." There were interpreters of the Old Testament known to Justin the martyr who already had a logos theology based on Exodus 3:6. The Valentinian

Gnostics have as the third of the first Ogdoas, *Logos and Zoe*.

The logos concept is entering Christianity from the turn of the first to second century on. It is not a Christian inspiration but was probably appropriated from Stoicism. It is speculation about hypostases. God, the cosmos, and Logos were according to the Stoic monistic philosophy essentially a unity. The logos was not a second form beside the deity. The logos of Philo is a mythological figure, most likely that of the god Hermes. The logos theology is a crazy quilt woven by many hands.

The author of the Fourth Gospel took a Graeco-Roman concept, clothed it with flesh, made it incarnate and the logos became in subsequent Christianity the subject of Christological controversy. By reading again Colossians 1:15-20, the reader may discover where the anonymous author got some of his speculation:

"Who is the image of the invisible God, the first born of all creation; for in him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him, and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him all things consist. And he is the head of the body, the church: who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead: that in all things he might have preeminence. For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in him should all the fulness dwell; and through him to reconcile all things unto himself, having made peace through the blood of his cross; through him I say, whether things upon the earth or things in the heavens."

The centre of the gospel for the composer of the Fourth Gospel is Jesus the Son of God. The gospel ends with this confession: "Now Jesus did many other signs in the presence

of the disciples which are not written in this book; but these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God and that believing you may have life in his name."

John 1:18, "No one has ever seen God; the only begotten God who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known;" 1:34, "And I have seen and have borne witness that this is the Son of God;" 1:49, "Rabbi you are the Son of God! You are the King of Israel;" 3:16-18, "For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that whosoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life. For God sent the Son into the world, not to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved through him."

John 3:36, "He who believes in the Son hath eternal life; he who does not obey the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God rests upon him;" 5:25,26, "Truly, truly, I say to you, the hour is coming and now is when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live. For as the Father has life in himself, so he has granted the Son also to have life in himself."

John 11:27, "She said to him, 'yes, Lord; I believe that you are the Christ, the Son of God, he who is coming into the world';" 19:7, "The Jews answered him, 'We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he has made himself the Son of God';" I John 3:23, "and this is his commandment, that we should believe in the name of his Son Jesus Christ and love one another, just as he commanded," 5:5, "who is it that overcomes the world but he who believes that Jesus is the Son of God."

Christian faith is altogether a faith in the Son of God who comprehends all that Paul means by Kyrios. All prayer is in his name. God and the Son are drawn closely together, John 5:23, "that all may know the Son, even as they honor the

Father who sent him." The fourth gospel did not accept Paul's Law—Spirit speculation! In the first nineteen chapters he avoids Lord. On the other hand and strange to relate he does retain the Son of man view and employs it of one who is to hold judgment. He is not troubled by Paul's views regarding the Spirit and the flesh. The Spirit is the bearer of the divine, supernatural revelation. He is the Spirit of truth not like in Paul the mysterious powerful Spirit of worship. The Spirit explains the life of Jesus, that descended upon him at baptism *and remained on him*, 1:32 f. Unless one is born of water and this spirit, he cannot enter the Kingdom of God.

Who, according to the Fourth Gospel is Jesus? To obtain a genuine human being, this gospel tells us that a child was born one day to two Jews living in Nazareth of Galilee; the father was Joseph and the mother was Mary. Their first born son was called Jesus. The neighbors and soon all Galileans knew him as "the son of Joseph who comes from Nazareth," 1:45; "Jesus, the son of Joseph. We know his father and mother," 6:24; "of Galilee," 7:41; "Jesus the Nazarene," 18:5,7; 19:19.

Also according to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus was known to the neighbors and friends of the family as an average Jewish child. Friend John the Baptizer *did not recognize in Jesus* a unique person when he met him at Jordan. His parents exercised parental authority over him. His brothers did not believe in him, John 7:5.

The anonymous composer of the Fourth Gospel must have been fully aware that he was not describing the historical Jesus of the first century for there are no words like pity, mercy, compassion, repentance, no sermon on the mount, no tribute to John the Baptizer, no repudiation of the title "good," no Kingdom of God emphasis, no Lord's Prayer, no real betrayal of Jesus, no puzzled or faltering man in Gethse-

mane, no soul agony in the Garden, no temptation of Jesus, no parable of the Lost Son, no struggle upon the cross, a conquering hero not a troubled soul in Gethsemane.³ Jesus chose Judas in order that he might betray him (John 6:64, 13:27-30). Judas makes no bargain with the enemies of Jesus nor does he kiss him to point him out. Jesus is not handcuffed but takes charge at his arrest. The Father has from the beginning of history at least designed the death of his Son. How then could the Son refuse to die upon the cross? He had come to earth to do that very thing. God was ultimately responsible for the betrayal and death of Jesus, says the Fourth Gospel.

This second century apologist for Christianity, the unknown author of the Fourth Gospel, deliberately and purposely omitted over eighty items, as Colwell and Titus point out, mentioned in the synoptic gospels, adding some nine more or less novel items, transforming synoptic materials he retains, reconstructing what he had read in available Pauline letters and perhaps in Acts, and also making use of the Oriental mysticism his environment was so excited about.

Is the anonymous author of this gospel merely speaking for his church? Was this gospel written and does it reflect the situation in the Christian church after the separation from Judaism had occurred and the attitude of Christianity had gone anti-Semitic? The relation between Jew and Christian immediately after the death of Jesus was definitely friendly. Acts 2:46, "Day after day they (Christians) resorted with one accord to the temple;" 3:1, "Peter and John were on their way up to the temple for the hour of prayer." After the wars of the Jews against Rome, all this is changed. This Fourth Gospel reflects this changed second century Christian-Jewish attitude. As early as John 2:14, the antagonism appears. None of Jesus' Jewish hearers ever appears to under-

stand the message of Jesus. His arguments with his fellow-countrymen have no parallels in the synoptic gospels, where Judas also escapes many of the aspersions encountered here. In fact, the author's references to Jews make John seem to be a Gentile. See John 19:14, 8:59, 9:22. "They will put you out of the synagogues; indeed, the hour is coming when whoever kills you will think he is offering service to God," John 16:1 f.

To deal now with the particular situation pictured in John 19:15, *we have no king but Caesar*. On the face of it, this is slander contradicted by the total history of Israel and Judaism. God has been king of Israel for some three millennia. If unwilling to consider the data of the Old Testament, reread I Maccabees or Josephus' description of what went on in Judea between A.D. 6-73 or the established facts of the Bar Kochba rebellion against the might of Rome, A.D. 132-135. The entire history of the Jews from the time of Jesus to the contemporary German tragedy can be summarized in a single phrase: *devotion to God*. Indeed, Christian interpreters who dwell upon Matthew 27:25 and John 19:15 contradict themselves by describing Israel's loyalty to God as king. What surprises the historian is that these biblical literalists have not long since discovered the contradiction and acknowledged it. To accuse Judaism of apostasy to God when most of its sufferings have resulted from its loyalty to God is such an unfair construction of history that only invincible ignorance may be assumed as explanation.

John 19:15 is *post eventum* prophecy. As the apocalyptist living in the second century before the Christian era projected himself back into the sixth century before that era to transform his historical knowledge into advanced prophetic knowledge, so the author of the Fourth Gospel writing in the second century and after the destruction of the Jewish nation

by the Roman Empire and after the definite separation of Christianity from Judaism deliberately transformed the later well-known historical facts into actual events of a century earlier. But is it quite fair for modern Christians who know the facts to continue this haggadic embellishment of history?

Under critical investigation the trial of Jesus before Pilate is becoming the trial of Christianity before the court of history. Let Goguel point out how serious the situation is:

"The fact that this scene is localized at the place called 'the Pavement' suggests that it comes from a source. It seems strange that the topographical detail should occur at the end of the story. It is also surprising that Pilate should not take his place on the judgment seat till towards the sixth hour, although the trial had begun at break of day. Here John seems to be following a tradition concerning the death of Jesus which is independent of that of the Synoptics, since that did not include any topographical details. But this tradition has been adapted by John, who has used it for the conclusion and the summing up of his narrative. The link between the kingship attributed to Jesus and the sentence of death seems to come from this source, but we must assign to the evangelist the intervention of the crowd, and its declaration, so opposed to all that we know of the sentiments of the Jews: 'We have no king but Caesar.' *Jesus was not crucified because he was, or pretended to be, the King of the Jews, as the account of the trial implies, but precisely because he was accused of wishing to be the King of the Jews.*

"The alteration of the primitive tradition on the question of the death sentence comes out again in these words: 'Then delivered he him therefore unto them to be crucified.' The tendentious character of this formula is revealed by the fact that it is contradicted by what follows, where it is not the Jews but the Romans who crucify Jesus."

"A study of the Johannine narrative therefore has led to the same conclusion as that of the Marcan narrative. There was no real trial of Jesus before Pilate. The Procurator simply had Jesus brought before him and told him that since he was the king of the Jews he would be crucified."

A sample or two that the Christian community of the second century is occasionally speaking, is found in John 3:11, where the singular changes to plural—"verily, verily I say to thee (Nicodemus) that WE (the Christian church of the second century) know what WE say and what WE have seen, WE witness and YOU (the unbelievers of the second century) do not receive OUR witness;" or when in 4:22, "YOU (Samaritans) do not know what you worship; we (Christians) do know what WE worship"; or where in 4:38 YOU (Christians) have entered into their work. Likewise, the testimony of the Samaritans (4:42) that Jesus is "the *soter* of the world" is the second century faith of the Christian church and 12:19, "look, the world has gone after him" is most assuredly a dramatic second century claim of Christian success in winning converts despite its position as a *religio illicita* in the Roman Empire.

The baptism of Jesus is not described in the Fourth Gospel. According to the synoptic gospels, Mark, Matthew, Luke, Jesus one day journeyed to Jordan where John was baptizing and asked to be baptized and was baptized.

The Johannine gospel does not mention this event any more than it mentions a supernatural birth such as is referred to in some manuscripts of Matthew at 1:16 and Luke 1:35.

There are some passages in the New Testament that let Jesus become the ethical son of God at his baptism: "today have I become thy Father," Luke 3:22; "Thou art my Son; today have I become thy Father," Hebrews 1:5; also in Acts 13:23.

But in the Johannine gospel the situation is very different. Its author does not describe the descent of the Spirit as a declaration of ethical sonship but as "incarnationism." John the Baptizer testified that the Spirit had not only descended upon Jesus but that it **REMAINED ON HIM**. *The claim of the writer of this gospel is that Jesus at this moment, the moment of his baptism, became Son of God, the Christ, Lord, Soter, God.*

Why according to the author of the Fourth Gospel did the Spirit of God choose Jesus as the vehicle of his entrance into human life? There is only one reason. In order that Jesus might die upon a cross. That was the divine objective from the dim past of man's creation. The cross was not tragedy but triumph; not unanticipated but intended; not a scandal but exaltation; not mystery but demonstration of the love of God; not conquest by the world but the overcoming of the world. The cross was the return of the Son to the Father with his mission accomplished. The completion of the mission, the bestowal of the Spirit, could be had only through the cross. According to this gospel there was no reproach of the Father for forsaking Jesus upon the cross. He gave up his spirit after completing the task assigned him. *In other words, God was responsible for the betrayal, the arrest, the trial, the verdict of Pilate, and the crucifixion itself. This is the reason why the disciples do nothing to prevent the betrayal.*

Popular Christianity as it developed upon Greek not Hebrew soil was far removed from the first life of Christ and a new construction was undertaken by the author of the Fourth Gospel. Jesus was the exalted Lord for Greek Christians. He was present in the sacrament of the eucharist. To him they prayed; they exorcized demons in his name; the historical memory of the Jesus of Palestine and his parables

was of little value. The Jesus of history was receding from the scene and it impresses one as miraculous that the synoptic gospels played their important role in the church. A new life was definitely called for. The Johannine construction of the life of Jesus met the need. Docetism was the doctrine that Jesus did not appear in the flesh and that the Christian religion should be separated from the earthly life of Jesus. Jesus was much too earthly, too human, too Jewish, too little miraculous. When they compared the synoptic gospels with the others they found too many variations. The author of the Fourth Gospel undertook a grand work of reconstruction. He described in his new life of Jesus: "*God's Son on earth, or God on earth.*" So his first appearance is an epiphany of glory and power—water becomes wine. The ordinary works of healing have vanished. Exorcisms of demons have disappeared. Jesus works miracles to his and the father's glory. They have become revelations of his glory. His words are divine oracles of mysterious depths. The crowd stands perplexed without understanding. Nicodemus does not understand the words "being born from above." The woman of Samaria is astounded by Jesus' reference to the water of life. The crowd in Galilee does not grasp Jesus' reference to heavenly manna and the very mysterious word about the eating of the flesh of the Son of Man. "Truly, I say unto you, if anyone keeps my word, he will never see death," John 8:51. He is the lamb of God bearing the sins of the world. His disciples greet him as Messiah; the Samaritans, as Savior of the world. The man born blind prays to him as Son of man. He is sought by the Greeks. He sees thoughts formed in the mystery of another's mind. He voluntarily gives his life. The boundary line between God and man has vanished. Prayer is no need of his own but a kind of demon-

stration for others: "I knew that thou hearest me always, but I have said this on account of the people standing by, that they may believe that thou didst send me," John 11:42; "Jesus answered, 'This voice has come for your sake, not for mine,'" John 12:30. The "I thirst" spoken from the cross was spoken "to fulfil the scripture," John 19:28—not because Jesus was in agony.

What, then, does the Fourth Evangelist accomplish? He has succeeded in describing the *logos-God* and *ecce homo!* The *logos* is no longer an abstraction of the philosophers but an incarnation. *The Fourth gospel is not an expansion of the synoptic gospels but a substitute for them.*

We have noticed that Paul's mysticism was essentially a Christ-mysticism. In our author this Christ-mysticism becomes God-mysticism completing the transition. Christians "were born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man, but of God," John 1:13; "in that day you will know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you," John 14:20; "If a man loves me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our home with him," John 14:23; "if you keep my commandments, you will abide in my love, just as I have kept my Father's commandments and abide in his love," John 15:10; "for the Father himself loves you, because you have loved me and have believed that I came from the Father," John 16:27; "the glory which thou hast given me I have given to them, that they may be one even as we are one, I in them and thou in me, that they may become perfectly one so that the world may know that thou hast sent me and hast loved them even as thou hast loved me," John 17:22 f.

In spite of this transition in the Fourth Gospel to God-mysticism, the Son of God remains the centre. Witness the

"I am" passages: John 4:26; 6:41,48; 8:12; 10:7-9,10,14; 11:25; 14:6; 15:1,5.

In the mystery religions after long preparation, fasts, purification, penance, the novice reaches the moment where he sees God himself. In ecstasy he beholds God and he is deified. So in the Johannine writings God-mysticism replaces Christ mysticism. "For this is the will of my Father, that everyone who sees the Son and believes in him should have eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day," John 6:40. "Beloved, we are God's children now; it does not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he appears, we shall be like him for we shall see him as he is," I John 3:2. *This is the holy beholding of God which transforms the initiate into God. This is deification. This is the Johannine mysticism which well nigh effaces eschatology. The ideas of eternal life, resurrection, and judgment are spiritualized. The judgment is escaped through holy beholding.* "Truly, truly, I say unto you, if any one keeps my word, he will never see death" John 8:51. "Jesus said unto her, 'I am the resurrection and the life; he who believeth in me, though he die, yet shall he live, and whoever lives and believes in me shall never die,'" John 11:25 f.

"And Jesus cried and said, He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me. And he that beholdeth me beholdeth him that sent me. I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me may not abide in the darkness. And if any man hear my sayings, and keep them not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world. He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my sayings hath one that judgeth him: the word that I spake, the same shall judge him in the last day. For I spake not from myself: but the Father that sent me, he hath given me a commandment, what I should say, and what

I should speak. And I know that his commandment is life eternal: the things therefore which I speak, even as the Father hath said unto me, so I speak," John 12:44-50.

24. *"The Second God" of the Christian Apologists.*

The Christology of the Christian apologists may be summarized as: Christ is the Logos of God. The logos theology is a syncretism of Stoicism, allegorization, oriental mysticism, Philo, worship of Hermes, and Egyptian religion. The logos had begun as reason mediating between God and the world. He has become "second God." Christianity absorbed this complicated idea. It added nothing to it but applied the synthesis to the person of Jesus Christ. The Christians proclaimed: All this is ours! All the truth of the logos concept is ours. He appeared in Jesus of Nazareth. The author of the anonymous gospel does not proclaim a new theory of the logos. He builds upon an idea known to all the world but he announces the new thing: "The Logos became flesh and we behold his glory." The Logos is the Son of God.

The apologists merely took over the logos-speculation which they found in their environment. An environment which inclined to philosophical monotheism to defend and justify the Christian worship of Jesus of Nazareth with divine honors. These intellectuals stood upon the ground of the common faith and worship of Jesus and acknowledged it. Only Justin definitely stated that Jesus was second God. This interpretation he had to justify before his own conscience. What they proclaimed to the Greek mind was that polytheism was dangerous and that monotheism was the only justified religion. Was not the divine worship of the crucified Jesus polytheism of the worst kind? No, said the Christian apologists! For Jesus was for the Christians the divine Logos.

They were not giving divine worship to a human being but to the incarnate Logos who belonged to deity. This worship was not foolishness but a mark of highest reason. "After God we worship the Logos of God."

Justin the martyr inaugurated this argument. Tertullian the most powerful of all apologists seconded it. Athenagoras employed the logos speculation similarly. Even the anonymous author of the Fourth Gospel and the author of the Kerygma of Peter witness to an interest in the Logos—speculation because of this evaluation of Jesus. Christianity accepted the Logos idea to enable the intellectuals to appreciate their Christ-cult.

The logos-theology said that Christianity was absolutely reasonable, it was perfect religious truth, it was practical truth. Christianity was generally tenable, it had always been and would always be, only now it could be appreciated.

The fulness of the time had come!

The logos was revealed in Socrates. But the demons prevailed upon men to put him to death as atheist. Christians were engaged in a similar conflict. The logos was from the beginning common property of humanity. Socrates, Heraclitus, the prophets of the Old Testament were Christians. Plato, the Stoics, the great poets, the historians have all taught about the Logos. Philosophers and law givers had their wisdom from the Logos. *Everything good that they said, that belongs to us, it is Christian!* So far Justin the martyr.

Tertullian in his *Testimonium animae* gives his testimony to the reasonableness of the human soul—the soul of simple, ignorant uncultivated men—men as they come on the street, on the corners, at labor: "I address souls. I ask you what you contribute to man. What have you learned by yourself or through your originator whoever that is. This much I know,

you are not a Christian. For no one is born a Christian—he becomes that. Yet testimony is demanded of you. The witness of the soul is true as true as it is ordinary; as ordinary as common; as common as universal; as universal as natural; as natural as divine. The soul certainly preceded the testimony; the speech was before the book, thought preceded the pen; man preceded the philosopher and the poet. Hence you must believe your own witness. On the basis of our philosophy, believe the divine witness; but on the basis of free choice of the soul itself believe nature just as much. To find again faith in nature and in God, believe only the soul. Then you will also believe yourself. As you believe both nature and God, believe the soul. *Every soul announces loudly according to her inherent right, what is not permitted us (Christians) to whisper only once!"*

This is the universal view of life which has developed on the basis of the logos theology.

Goodness and love of God are natural and original. The world is reasonable, universal and orderly.

And yet the Logos appeared in only one man, in Jesus of Nazareth! *This paradox the author of the Fourth Gospel had maintained!* How only in one soul if all souls are universal. Well, the others, Socrates for instance, did not fully possess the truth. Plato's teachings agree with those of Christ *but only in part!* The Stoics, poets, historians know only in part. The Greek philosophers have raised questions but have found no answer. A new way must be found. Deity is understood by humans only in so far as it wishes to be known. This is of course a mystery. The Logos who appeared in Christ is an earth's circumference different from others. Humanity needs an authority in revelation. All pagan philosophy is guess work. All others have possessed only fragmentary information. The prophets filled with the divine

Spirit had authority to proclaim the dependable revelation of the Logos. So that the Christian revelation is final. The Christians are different and superior.

But why could not human thinking suffice? Why must divine revelation mediated by prophets and Logos supplement it? Because of the control of the demons over the minds of men. Hence the need of illumination from above. The demons are the offspring of the fallen angels, are the effective forces in paganism. They are revered as gods by the pagan world. They form the effective power in idolatry. They are the originators of persecution of the Christians; they imitate the true sacraments of the Christians; they are responsible for heresies and for unjust laws of the state. Because of them the incarnation of the logos was necessary. Christ appeared on earth to break their power. Only when the name of Christ is employed can they be exorcized.

For the apologists, Christianity is the absolutely reasonable religion. Christianity is universally valid. The Logos ever was and ever will be. He became incarnate in Christ but the Spirit had spoken in a long line of prophetic men and thus prepared the way. Christianity is superior to all philosophy. Humanity through the rule of the demons was weakened in their knowledge of the truth.

Having defended reason, they nevertheless assumed revelation. Having assumed that Christian faith is superior to all demonstration, they joyously employ it. After they have proved the unity of God, they conclude by showing that Christian truth cannot rest on such proof but must be based upon prophetic revelation. Rationalism and authoritative faith are mutilated together. For the idea that Christ is the Logos they find the proof in the external authority of the prophets. They base the need of revelation on the theory of demon control of life.

The chief contradiction is between their rationalism and the bodily concentration of the Logos in Christ. The faith of the church was believed. Their irrationalism—they could not harmonize the dogma with the cultus of the church. Christ is the divine Logos in indissoluble union with God and yet is different from him. They defended the faith of the church in its essence: the deity of Christ and sacramental worship of the church. They also maintained the ethical emphasis of Christianity. The reasonableness and universalism of the Christian religion were not freely developed. The dogma of the “second God” was a contradiction. But the fulness of the time had not yet come for an eternally and universally valid religion for the human soul.

25. *The Cur Deus Homo of Irenaeus.*

The content of the new religion became more and more the proclamation of the new God. Irenaeus' point of departure was the deity of Christ. God and God's son are identical. He is opposed to the Gnostic dissolution of Jesus into myth. Jesus is the Son of God and the son of man. Son of man has lost its eschatological meaning. *It becomes humanity*: Jesus Christ is truly God and truly man. Irenaeus accepts the Logos theory; it is traditional for him. On the basis of a word of Jesus, “no one knows the Father but the Son,” the Gnostics were teaching the theory of the “unknown God.” Irenaeus defended the pre-existent Logos from whom all revelation comes.

Why did God become man? Why did the redeemer become incarnate? If pagan philosophers had come upon truth, that descent was unnecessary. Irenaeus framed the classic answer: *Christ, God, had to become man, in order that men might become Gods.* Irenaeus selects Psalm 82 as his point of

departure; "God has taken his place in the divine council; in the midst of the gods he holds judgment." Allegorically interpreted the Father, the Son, and the assembly of the church are present. Who are the gods? Those to whom he hath said, "you are gods, sons of the Most High, all of you," who have become sons by adoption; "for we think that they were not gods from the beginning but first were men and then finally gods." "For this purpose the Logos became man, the Son of god the son of man, in order that man receiving the Logos and obtaining the adoption might become the son of God."

Equality with God or deification is the conferment of God. Men had to be united with God to obtain incorruptibility and immortality. But how could that union occur if incorruptibility and immortality had not become what we are. This marvelous mystical unity, in which the being of God is united to that of man is prefigured in the Son of God, truly God and truly man, and reproduced in the members of the church. For how could we receive the adoption if we had not participated with the Son in the incarnation. Again and again Irenaeus mentions that adoption by which men become gods, the union between God and man, the weak being of man which receives the fulness of God, when God and humanity are united in one.

The entire gospel of the appearance of the Son of God on earth is concentrated in this mystery. The reality of the sufferings on the cross is maintained over against gnostic-docetic denial but that is all. Nowhere does Irenaeus have an original discussion of the cross. The cross is a conquest of the devil and a triumph of the evil spirits; shows the obedience of Christ as contrasted with the disobedience of Adam. The cross is overshadowed by the union of the divine with the being of man. The cross is merely the conclusion of that

process. The dying with, rising with Christ of Paul is neglected in Irenaeus. Sin, guilt, joyousness of sin and guilt proceed into the background as in the Johannine writing.

Yet the mysticism of Irenaeus is spiritual and personal like John's. The union of the human being with the divine occurs through holy beholding of the God-Logos who appeared on earth. It is impossible to know God in all his greatness except to appreciate his love. This love is the incarnate Jesus Christ—the Logos become flesh. This mystical beholding of God is gnosis and is faith. The Logos has revealed him. Person of Jesus as described in the Gospels is contemporary. The fourfold portrait in the gospels is almost a cosmological necessity, as necessary as the four winds and the four directions of the earth. Paul's passing by of the earthly Jesus is strange to Irenaeus.

This earthly Jesus is the divine interpretation of the heavenly mysteries. "No one has ever seen God, the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father he hath declared him." The Logos is the mystagogue, who unlocks the mysteries of God.

Christianity was concentrated now in the cult of the new God and the deification of man was at the centre. The deity of Christ must of necessity lose some of the irrational when it is proclaimed that the object of all Christians is to become gods. The union of deity and humanity in Christ ceases to be absolutely unique and incomprehensible; it becomes symbol of what the individual Christian is to achieve.

Jesus was truly human for Irenaeus. The humanity is real. "For if he did not become what we were, he did nothing extraordinary by his suffering." But if Jesus was truly God and truly man, the new question must be answered: what now belonged to God and what to Humanity? How can he solve the mystery of the two natures in Christ?

Could Jesus suffer or was he incapable of suffering? The Logos was visible and touchable, *Deus manifestus*. The eye of faith beholds the Father and the Son as identical.

The gnostic contention that redeemer-God and Creator-God were different, Irenaeus opposed. *The two hands of God are addressed in the creation story: let us make man!* Genesis 1:26 f, applies to him. He was destined for immortality. He fell and lost the image and likeness of God. But the tempter was guilty. The victory of the devil was against justice and against nature. The tragedy required corrections. The bond between man and God has not been severed. This would be a defeat for God. *The rescue of Adam was an internal necessity*. The punishment of death was grace and pity, for he thus saved man. God reserved the final redemption of Adam from the power of death. Death had, therefore, not conquered, not won the victory. Adam, moreover, becomes a symbol—what holds for him as individual holds for him as representative of all men, of the race of men.

The redemption of Jesus is nothing less than the restoration of the original being of man. The Logos in his incarnation took this original nature of man and united with it. This union of the divine and the human is the restoration of the human being to his original purity so that what man lost in Adam he regained in Christ. The beginnings return in the end. The Logos represented the first man as he left the hands of God. Purity walked upon the earth once more.

It was the return of the Golden Age of man's innocence. As Adam in the beginning through the will and wisdom of God was made "from the *virgin* earth," (and Yahweh God formed man from the dust of the ground), so the Logos, repeating Adam, was born of the virgin Mary. As the disobedient virgin (Eve) brought man to his fall and death, so man through a virgin (Mary), who heard God's word, re-

ceived life again. As in Paradise a tree witnessed the disobedience of Adam so the tree of the cross witnessed the obedience of Christ. As at the beginning a great contest was on between the devil and God, was apparently won by the devil and injustice; so the Second Adam conquered at Calvary. The body of the Logos was as it was in Adam before the fall. In order that the devil might be conquered, the marvellous mixture of the deity and humanity in Jesus was necessary. Adam fell, the second Adam conquered.

Irenaeus not only defends the fall of man. *He represents it as almost something desired by God. The experience was necessary to the development of man.* We do not value our possessions until they are gone. For man through this experience acquired the knowledge of good and of evil. Why did not God create man a perfect creature? Well, because man as a created being was becoming perfect. He simply could not at the beginning be a perfect creature. That would have made him an automaton! To be sure, God could have granted him perfection. Then he never could have chosen it. It would have been conferred and goodness would not have been achievement. We are not from the beginning gods but human first then gods! Irenaeus was compelled by Gnosticism to support a theory akin to evolution! He must posit progress in the story of redemption. There must be an old covenant and a new covenant—an Old Testament and a New Testament. He sees progress in the ethical revelation of God from the patriarchs, Moses, the prophets, and Jesus. The conquest of the Anti-Christ is gradual. Man can gradually become accustomed to the glory of God and so win the stature of angels and desire to cooperate with the spiritual process of the cosmos. Revelation has always been gradual. The seed must mature. All under the sign of freedom, freedom was a characteristic of the philosophy of the time. To

deny freedom was godless. Man must be free to choose between evil and goodness. For he possesses a free and independent soul. He can go either way and unless he can he is not free. The freedom idea plays a principal part in the philosophy of Irenaeus. Freedom was not lost by the fall of man. Man has freedom to disobey God. God directs this freedom towards salvation of man.

Thus, Irenaeus developed a system of *gratia et natura*, of evolution and supranaturalism which came to rule in the church. Recapitulation and evolution are inseparably united in Irenaeus. The end returns to the beginning but in such a way that the end is a step higher. There is progress if you plot the highest points of the curve of life.

Of course, Irenaeus never drew the logical conclusion of progress. Jesus was always the divine logos who became man. He was much more than the original Adam. What Jesus took on, according to Irenaeus, was the being of man—only separated from the historic sinful development of man. For the fall did not make the being of man essentially different. The image and likeness to God were gone. But man never really possessed that, for one cannot possess what he has not acquired in freedom. The lower nature of Adam which was revealed by the fall was actually the beginning of man's ascent to the likeness of God. Man never lost his freedom entirely. Thus, the radical pessimism of Paul is not for Irenaeus. He could not affirm that flesh and blood cannot inherit eternal life nor that psychic man does not receive the Spirit of God.

26. *The Slow Development of the Apostles' Creed.*

From the period of primitive Christianity to the modern age the legends about the origin of the so-called Apostles'

Creed have been taken as true. One who had much to do with popularizing the tradition was Rufinus who after achieving a reputation as a priest, monk and theologian, about A.D. 400, composed a commentary on the oldest creed of Christendom, incorporating the tale that the twelve apostles had published the creed prior to their departure from Jerusalem:

“Our forefathers have handed down to us the tradition, that, after the ascension, when through the coming of the Holy Ghost tongues of flame had settled upon each of the apostles, that they might speak diverse languages, so that no race, however foreign, no tongue, however barbarous, might be inaccessible to them and beyond their reach, they were commanded by the Lord to go severally to the several nations to preach the word of God. Being on the eve, therefore, of departing from one another they first mutually agreed upon a standard of their future preaching, lest haply, when separated, they might in any instance vary in the statements which they should make to those whom they should invite to believe in Christ. Being all, therefore, met together and being filled with the Holy Ghost, they composed, as we have said, this formulary of their future preaching, each contributing his several sentence to one common summary. And they ordained that the rule thus framed should be given to those who believe. To this formulary, for many and sufficient reasons, they gave the name of symbol.”

The twelve apostles had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the origin of the Apostles' Creed. Yet in the later

medieval legend they became the inspired co-authors of it. As the tale was told:

“On the tenth day after the ascension when the disciples were gathered for fear of the Jews, the Lord sent the promised Paraclete. And when he had come as a flaming fire and they were filled with the knowledge of all tongues, they composed this symbol. Peter said: I believe in God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, Andrew said: And in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord. James said: Who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of Mary the Virgin. John said: Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried. Thomas said: Descended into Hades, on the third day rose from the dead. James said: Ascended in heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. Philip said: Thence he is about to come to judge quick and dead. Bartholomew said: I believe in the holy Spirit. Matthew said: Holy Catholic church, communion of saints. Simon said: Remission of sins. Thaddeus said: Resurrection of the flesh. Mathias said: Life eternal.”

The tradition handed down by the forefathers is rather hazy and contradictory, the command to preach the gospel issuing from the ascended not the risen Christ. It represents the Roman attitude toward heresy and is utterly foreign to the democracy and universal inspiration of the early church. The twelve even established a sort of censorship and *imprimatur* and standardized nomenclature. Moreover, the apostles who expected the coming of the Lord and the end of the world in their lifetime are represented as planning a

summary of faith for a universal church. *Thus did a later Catholicism antedate its conclusions by more than three centuries.*

Not long after the several articles of the Apostles' Creed had been assigned to the several apostles, the so-called Nicene Creed supplanted it at Rome. The Apostles' Creed disappeared at Rome but was preserved in Gaul. It seems to have been returned to Rome in an expanded form in the eighth or ninth century by the Franks. Apostolicity was immediately conferred upon this enlarged Apostles' Creed. On the basis of the Apostles' Creed, the Arian Goths could not be converted into good Roman Catholics; they could as Arian Christians, repeat it.

But when the Apostles' Creed reappeared in Rome in the eighth century, it had been enlarged by the addition of "maker of heaven and earth," "conceived by," "suffered," "dead," "He descended into hell," "God," "Almighty," "Catholic," "communion of saints" and "life everlasting."

This "received text" of the Apostles' Creed is a conflation of various texts and statements current especially in Servia and France when Charlemagne expressed a desire for confessional uniformity, after the Roman model. Thence it was brought to Rome whence it spread to all sections of the Western Church.

He descended into *hell* appears only in the latest form of the Apostles' Creed. Yet this faith was primitive Christian.

"He descended into hell" is not added in the creed of the Roman church, neither is it in that of the Oriental churches. It seems to be implied, however, when it is said that "He was buried." That he descended into hell is also evidently foretold in the Psalms, where it is said, "Thou hast brought me also into the dust of the earth, etc."

The New Testament interprets Christ's descent to Hades

as: 1. A sojourn in the realm of the dead, Romans 10:7, Ephesians 4:9, Acts 2:27,31; 2. The securing of the keys of death and of Hades, Revelation 1:18; 3. The release of the righteous, Matthew 27:51-53, John 8:56, Hebrews 11:39 f, 12:22 f; 4. Preaching to the unrighteous, I Peter 3:19, 4:6.

Marcion taught that

“... Cain and those like him, and the Sodomites, and the Egyptians, and others like them, and in fine, all the nations who walked in all sorts of abominations, were saved by the Lord on His descending into Hades, and on their running unto Him, and that they welcomed Him to their kingdom. But the serpent which was in Marcion declared that Abel, and Enoch, and Noah, and those other righteous men who sprang from the patriarch Abraham, with all the prophets and those who were pleasing God, did not partake in salvation. For since these men, he says, knew that their God was constantly tempting them, so now they suspected that He was again tempting them, and did not run to Jesus or believe His announcement, and for this reason, he declared, their souls remained in Hades.”

At least ten different views concerning Christ's descent to the realm of the dead are met with in the history of Christianity. Christ went to Hades to demonstrate his conquest of Satan, to save the patriarchs, to evangelize sinners, to complete his redemptive work, to deliver Christians from the control of death, to share in every respect the fate of man. The descent to Hades has also been identified with burial, with the descent of the pre-existent Christ to preach to the contemporaries of Noah, and with the intensity of Christ's suffering upon the cross. The Westminster Shorter Catechism interprets the clause, “continued in the state of the dead and under the power of death until the third day.”

“The communion of saints” is another very late Occi-

dental addition to the Apostles' Creed. There is no agreement regarding its interpretation. One may choose from "fellowship of holy persons," "fellowship of believers with each other," "congregation of the saints," "communion of elect saints," "fellowship with saints and angels," "fellowship with the departed," "Communion to be enjoyed in heaven after death," "fellowship in holy things," "sacramental communion." Probably the author of the clause did not himself know what it meant. The North African creed never recognized this affirmation. The freedom of the Christian man may therefore be appealed to without penalty in this case.

In his notable monograph upon *The Apostles' Creed*, Professor A. C. McGiffert had contended that it was pointed against Marcion. He made out such a good case that his hypothesis was rather generally accepted by American church historians. But the newer study of the ancestry of the Apostles' Creed inaugurated by the brilliant monograph of Karl Holl published in 1919, indicated that the emergence of the Apostles' Creed was due to the inner needs of the church. Its text was gradual growth. No council met and fixed its final form. Its expansion was not completed in the fourth century or in the sixth century. The mirage of an ancient, fixed confession has long led students of the Apostles' Creed astray. Actually, in the entire ancient church not even two fathers who cite one and the same symbol can be discovered. Indeed, the same father formulates his confession differently in different passages.

The variations of text of the Apostles' Creed have become legion. It has frequently been pointed out that the Apostles' Creed lacks such terms as Savior, atonement, Kingdom of God, Bible, bishops, presbyters, deacons. It does not allude to the baptism of Jesus, to the sacraments, to his miracles or to his teachings. It contains no description of the after life.

Heretics could use this phraseology and continue their own interpretations of Christianity.

But the story of the creed suggests that the concise watchwords of the rule of faith demanded explanation by the teachers of the young. As a basis of instruction for the catechuminate the creed might well serve. How could the simple words of the creed become martello towers against heresy unless they were further explained to the catechumen? Thus, the variant expansions and interpretations of Irenaeus and Tertullian become intelligible. This one is from Irenaeus:

“The Church scattered though she is through the entire world the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples the faith in one God, the Father Almighty, who has made the heaven and the earth and the seas and all that in them is: and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God who was made flesh for our salvation; and in the holy Spirit who through the prophets preached the dispensations and the advents, and the birth from the virgin, and the passion and the resurrection from the dead, and the bodily assumption into heaven of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord, and his appearing from heaven in the glory of the Father to comprehend all things under one head, and to raise up all flesh of all mankind, that according to the good pleasure of the Father Invisible, every knee of those that are in heaven and on earth and under the earth should bow to Christ Jesus, our Lord and God and Savior and King, and that every tongue should confess to him . . .”

Even the earlier analysis of the Apostles' Creed by Schaff had demonstrated how uncertain the received text is:

1. I believe in God (prior to A.D. 250 “in one God”) the Father (A.D. 250) Almighty (A.D. 200) maker of heaven and earth (A.D. 650),

2. and in Jesus Christ (A.D. 300) his (A.D. 220) only (A.D. 390) begotten (A.D. 341) Son (A.D. 220) our Lord (A.D. 260);
3. who (A.D. 390) was conceived (A.D. 550) by the Holy (A.D. 390) Ghost (A.D. 220), born (A.D. 220) of the Virgin Mary (A.D. 220);
4. suffered (A.D. 220) under Pontius Pilate (A.D. 200), was crucified (A.D. 220) dead (A.D. 220) and buried (A.D. 220);
5. he descended into hell (A.D. 390), the third day (A.D. 220), he rose (A.D. 390) from the dead (A.D. 220);
6. he ascended into heaven (A.D. 390), and sitteth at the right hand (A.D. 220) of God (A.D. 550) the Father (A.D. 220) Almighty (A.D. 550);
7. from thence (A.D. 390) he shall come to judge the quick and the dead (A.D. 220).
8. I believe in (A.D. 250) the Holy Ghost (A.D. 220);
9. the holy Catholic (A.D. 450) Church (A.D. 250), the communion of saints (A.D. 550),
10. the forgiveness of sins (A.D. 250),
11. the resurrection (A.D. 220) of the body (A.D. 1543),
12. and the life everlasting (A.D. 250).

Hence, Philip Schaff was compelled to conclude:

"If we regard, then, the present text of the Apostles' Creed as a complete whole, we can hardly trace it beyond the sixth, certainly not beyond the close of the fifth century, and its triumph over all the other forms in the Latin church was not completed till the eighth century."⁴

27. *The Christianization of Virgil and his Prophetic Poem.*

The first "Christian" emperor of the Roman empire, Constantine, a Latin rhetorician, Lactantius by name, a convert to Christianity toward the end of his life, and Augustine, a convert to Christianity at thirty-two years of age which he confesses had been passed in licentiousness, pagan philosophy, Manichaeism, all three of these celebrities by appeal to the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil as an inspired Christian poem foretelling the virgin birth of the founder of Christianity profoundly influenced Christology.

Constantine received baptism just prior to his death in 337 at the hands of Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia the leader of the Arian party and not by Pope Sylvester more than twenty years before. Unfortunately this legend developed toward the end of the fifth century in Rome. The myth relates how, moved by his mother's tears, Constantine had not ordered the slaying of innocents to obtain the blood necessary to cure him of his leprosy but instead had been healed by appeal to the pope. Thereupon all the pagans still in the Senate and the people turned Christian. From the ninth to the fifteenth century this lusty myth was generally believed until disproved by Aeneas Sylvius and Nicholas of Cusa. But in the seventeenth century it was defended by Baronius and Bellarmine. The Benedictines destroyed its "authenticity" a little later.

Zosimus relates how when "some heathen priests refused to purify Constantine, a certain Egyptian advised him to try the effects of Christian doctrine whereupon he gave up the religion of his fathers."⁵

Constantine's record as a Christian leaves much to be

desired. He called himself Pontifex Maximus, head of the Roman religious system after embracing Christianity, participating in the heathen customs connected therewith. "Constantine adopted Christianity first as a superstition and put it by the side of his heathen superstitions, till finally it was his conviction that the Christian had vanquished the pagan, though without itself developing into a pure and enlightened faith." At first he revered all the gods especially Apollo. He consulted the sooth-sayers. His coins bore on one side the letters of the name of Christ, on the other the figure of the sun-god with the inscription *Sol Invictus*. He had confidence in the magic power of the sign of the cross. "It must, with regret, be conceded that his progress in the knowledge of Christianity was not a progress in the practice of its virtues."

He ordered the death penalty for his eleven year old nephew, Licinius, in spite of a promise of mercy and two years later for his own son, Crispus, accusing him of incest with his step-mother. After twenty years of happy married life she was disposed of by suffocation in an over heated bath. His piety could turn the sacred nails of the cross brought by Helena from Jerusalem, one into an ornament for his helmet; the other into a bit for his horse's bridle.

Constantine was a zealous reader of the Bible and always interested in promoting its circulation. He could preach, build costly churches and provide for the Christian education of his sons. The Greek church numbered him among its saints.

He died without ever having attended a complete Christian service of worship. He forbade the unethical cults and gave some pagan temples to Christianity. In submitting to baptism on his deathbed he is alleged to have remarked, "Now let us cast away all duplicity." Flatterers compared him with Apollos. He was an inverted "Augustus."

Lucius Caelius Firmianus Lactantius was a celebrated Latin scholar who lived in the third and fourth century, dying about A.D. 330. He served as professor of Latin rhetoric at Nicomedia, the choice of Emperor Diocletian. When the Diocletian persecution began, he resigned his professorship. Later at the request of Constantine, he became the tutor of his son Crispus and is regarded as at least one of the ghost-writers of that emperor.

Of heathen parentage, Lactantius turned Christian toward the end of his life probably in A.D. 301, more with his heart than with his head and was known as the Christian Cicero. He composed as his principal work the *Divinae Institutiones* in seven volumes, a thorough-going discussion of and apology for the Christian faith. His influence upon Constantine was considerable. He is reputed to have been the first Christian to interpret the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil of Christ.⁶ He aided Constantine in preparing the well-known oration for presentation to the "gathered saints" debating Christology at the council, meeting in Nicaea in A. D. 325.

The third member of our triumvirate and by no means the least was Aurelius Augustine. He is the only Christian author of antiquity to attain world recognition in literature. This was in large measure due to his *City of God*.

Born in A.D. 354 at Thagaste, in Numidia, Africa. His Christian mother, Monica, influenced him toward Christianity; his pagan father, Decuris Patricius, was of no help in this regard. He answered the call of passion and for years enjoyed his fling. Continence and chastity were unknown terms in his vocabulary. "I defiled," says Augustine, "the spring of friendship with the filth of concupiscence, and I beclouded its brightness with the hell of lustfulness." The mistress whose relationship with Augustine is described in these words, he loved faithfully for many years. She bore

him a son who received religious training from Augustine after his conversion. The girl returned from Milan to Africa, when Augustine decided the time had arrived for marriage.

His first mistress vowed "to know no other man" and left the son she had borne Augustine in the saint's care. Since she whom Augustine really intended to wed was too young to contemplate it immediately, the saint apparently saw nothing out of the ordinary in having another "mistress" during the interval of waiting for his wife, to be "less official and less acknowledged" than the first mistress so far, far away. His conscience, however, gave him no peace of mind so that his prayer became, "Give me chastity and continence, *only not yet.*"

For about ten years he was an auditor and found some peace of soul by communing with the Manichaeans; Faustus being his teacher. He became a brilliant public lecturer in the area of rhetoric. He, like Jerome, found the orations of Cicero more satisfying than the Bible. He loved Latin but hated Greek.

He went to Rome for a year and then to Milan whence a request had come for a teacher of rhetoric. Ambrose met him there and helped him to prefer Catholic dogma to that of Manichaeism. His mother Monica joined him and did not cease to press the claims of Catholicism. He read in a Latinized version of Plato and found there the doctrine of the Logos but not the doctrine of the incarnation and of human salvation. He found the Platonists "right about God wrong about the gods." Romans 13:13f led to his crisis and he definitely became Catholic:

"Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness,

not in strife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof."

On Easter, 387, Ambrose baptized Augustine and his son by his first mistress. He resigned his professorship of rhetoric, surrendered his current mistress, gave up his youthful bride.

In 388, Augustine returns to Africa for the rest of his life where he was appointed bishop of Hippo and engaged in the struggle for the purity of the Catholic faith against Donatist, Manichaeism, and Pelagian.

The Fourth Eclogue of Virgil belongs to a type of literature known as the Sibylline. About the eighth century before Christ there appears in the Eastern Greek world an oriental form of prophecy under the name of Sibylle or Sibylline. In a short time the Erythraean Sibylle attained a special reputation which endured to late imperial age. This oriental prophetic movement, which consistently foretold only gloom, woe, and ruin, reached Italian soil. Here a new Sibyl-seat originated and its influence extended to Rome. Then the enthusiasm petered out. In Greek style this literature was permanently deposited in hexameter form. This fell into the hands of Jewish Hellenists in the second half of the second century before Christ. It was worked over with propaganda intentions. The Sibyl prophesied now (especially in Book III of our extant collection) the history of Judaism, spoke in dark threats against Babylon, Egypt, the kingdoms of the Seleucids and the Romans, assumed eschatological tone in order to point everything toward the Messiah and the reward of pious Jews to reach its culmination here. Of primary significance is the often expressed expectation of the anti-Christ continued in Christian eschatology.

The Sibylline oracle development, then, represents a vast syncretism—Egyptian, Babylonian, Greek, Roman, Jewish and many another. The Sibyl signifies one who utters the counsel of God. At first one is referred to; in time as many as ten. She is described as offspring of a shepherd and a nymph. A total of 4,240 lines of this type of prophecy are extant. The III Book of Sibylline Oracles was composed by a cultured Egyptian Jew who took ancient oracles and interwove them with passages emphasizing Jewish monotheism. So an ancient pagan Sibyl denounces idolatry and exalts the religion of Judaism. Think of Titans and the birth of Jesus being described in a Jewish book. A Sibyl is represented as the daughter of Noah present in the ark with him.⁷ Augustine found nothing in what he read pertaining to the worship of false gods and he gravely admitted the Sibyl to the number of those who belong to the City of God.⁸

The ecstasy induced by the Sibyl and essential to her prophetic task was very seriously criticised by Cicero,⁹ although Constantine completely misrepresented the great orator:

“Now, in the verses of the Sibyl the whole of the paragraph on each subject is contained in the initial letter of every verse of that same paragraph. *This is evidently the artifice of a practiced writer, not of one in a frenzy; and rather of a diligent mind than of one insane one.* Therefore, let us consider the Sibyl as so distinct and isolated a character that, according to the ordinance of our ancestors, the *Sibylline books shall not even be read*, except by decree of the senate, and be used rather for the putting down than the taking up of religious fancies. And let us so arrange matters with the priests under whose custody they remain, that they may *prophecy anything but a King from these mysterious*

volumes; for neither Gods nor men any longer tolerate the notion of restoring Kingly environment at Rome."

To illustrate the syncretism of Isaiah, Sibylline books, and Fourth Eclogue of Virgil let us take samples:

Isaiah: 6-9

And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox, And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the adder's den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of Jehovah, as the waters cover the sea.

*Sibylline Oracles III,
788-795*

And wolves and lambs together shall crop grass upon the mountains, and leopards shall feed with the kid. Prowling bears shall lie with calves, and the carnivorous lion shall eat hay in the manger like the ox and the tiniest infants shall lead them in bonds for he shall make the beasts upon the earth incapable of harm. Serpents and asps shall sleep with babes, and shall not harm them: for God's hand shall be stretched over them.

*Fourth Eclogue of
Virgil*

The goats shall come uncalled, weighed down with milk. Nor lions' roar affright the labouring kine. Thy very cradle, blossoming for joy, Shall with soft buds caress thy baby face; The treacherous snake and deadly herb shall die.

Historical method can give us the original reference of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue as the vicious allegorical-acrostic method of Constantine, Lactantius and Augustine never can.¹⁰

What is the original meaning of the Fourth Eclogue? Is

it non-Christian? Do we seek its sources in Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Hesiod, and the Sibyllines, in a word in Graeco-Roman and Oriental syncretism or in Isaiah, Micah, and apocalyptic connections. Is the mother, Scribonia, and the father, Augustus, or is Mary the virgin the mother and the father the Holy Spirit? Is the hoped for male child Jesus, or did the desired child of Scribonia prove to be female,¹¹ namely Julia, the impossible problem child of Augustus on the day of her birth. Is no actual human child intended? Is this prophesied child an abstraction, an idealized child meant? Is the mysterious child another Dionysus? Must we admit that the "messianic" mystery cannot be penetrated? Or following the text of the poem will the hidden mystery come to light?

To begin with, this poem contains at least a dozen references to Roman gods and goddesses such as Apollo, Saturn, Jupiter, and Hebe; to the Sibyl of Cumae, to Tiphys, Achilles, the Sister Fates, Orpheus, Linus, and Calliope. It is thoroughly pagan from its contents and yet was interpreted as Christian. *It was never admitted to the Bible but it was declared inspired and its wonder child the Christian wonder child.*

Here then is a poem of some 64 lines written by Virgil the well-known and much loved Latin poet addressed to the muses written in the consulship of Pollio, that is, in B.C. 40. It refers to the birth of a *wonder-child* who is to be king of the rapidly approaching golden age. He is to inaugurate the new age. He will boast a divine lineage. Marvelous flowers will decorate the child's cradle. Poisonous plants will disappear. Wild beasts will turn tame. As the lad matures he will learn of his sire's valiant deeds. The age of iron will end and the generations of gold will fill the world. The older day is ending thanks to the intervention of Apollo. The new

age is here, it has begun but its king is still to be born. The mystery of the present is to be followed by the golden age for the whole world; intervention by a divine King must complete it.

Since B.C. 463 the idea of a saeculum, a period of a century, was well known to the Romans. It was an expiation festival, when all guilt was atoned for and buried and forgiven, when all could feel that a fresh start could be made by the individual and the nation and peace of mind could be attained by all. The last such festival should have occurred in B.C. 149; it actually occurred in B.C. 146. Julius Caesar had died in B.C. 44 and a comet appeared which an Etruscan haruspex (the practice of the saeculum had originated there) interpreted of the tenth and final saeculum. He fell dead while uttering the prophecy. Varro, most learned man of Rome, calculated the present saeculum at 110 years. The commencement of the new saeculum, allowing for the calendar reform of Julius Caesar, would therefore occur on October 1, 40. A resolution passed by the city of Ephesus in B.C. 48 had called him, "the god on earth descended from Ares and Aphrodite and the universal savior of the life of man." The argument for the beginning of the new saeculum varied between B.C. 44 and B.C. 40. Virgil according to this poem settled on B.C. 40 for the anticipated birth of the King of the new era but that year was dateable, the year of the consulship of Pollio. *Pollio was not father of the King to be!* "*Thy office, Pollio, thine shall mark the year wherein this star begins his glorious course.*"

Certainly after Alexander the Great the Oriental conception of the king as incarnation of the deity became at home in the Graeco-Roman world. The Oriental view of a god-king inaugurating a new aeon fused with the Greek god-savior idea. The Rosetta stone of 196 B.C. is indubitable evi-

dence for the completed union. When we are near *soter*, (Savior) we are also near *theos*, (God).

Somewhat later under the emperor Augustus in the province of Asia Minor, the Julian calendar was introduced. Inscriptions were set up in various cities. One of these was in Greek and of 84 lines. It hails from B.C. 9 and is known as the inscription of Priene. It is interesting because it marks the joyous mood of the time, it contains the word, gospel, it calls Augustus, God, and Savior and has destroyed the concept of the New Testament Greek being something like a unique language. For it was formerly held that of some 4,829 Greek words in the New Testament about 550 could not be found elsewhere. They indicated that the ideas of the New Testament writers were inspired and the Greek word for "good news," "gospel," "messages of joy" was one of them. This list of unique words has now just about reached the vanishing point with the research in the area of papyri. Observe that the Christian writers did the borrowing. A few lines from the Priene discovery should clear up the situation:

"This day has put a different look on the entire earth. It was doomed to perish if there had not been born a common good fortune for all men."

It might seem that a review of the preceding century of Roman history would amply justify the bestowal of the title *soter* on Augustus. There had been twelve civil wars. Panics, famines, plundering by soldiers, betrayals of fathers by sons and husbands by wives, taxes imposed on women had kept things in ferment at Rome. There were deliberate, legalized proscriptions from the 3,000 reputed followers of Gracchus to those caught in the net of Antony. Political assassinations

had begun with the Gracchi and included Caesar and Cicero ere they were done. The road from Capua to Rome had looked on the 6,000 crucified survivors of the insurrection managed by Spartacus. Militarism was running riot. Italy was depopulated; economic distress was becoming unbearable. The proscription of the triumvirs invited the wholesale frameups. "Guilt by association" was invoked where actual guilt could not be found. Of course the Romans desired peace and Augustus was the peacemaker.

"One judges rightly who acknowledges the beginning of life and all life's powers for himself. *At last the time passed when a man had to regret being born.*"

"From no other day does the individual and the totality receive so much good as from this birthday equally happy for all."

"It is impossible in worthy manner to give thanks for all the great benefactions which this day has brought."

"Providence which watches over everything in life has filled this man for the salvation of men with such gifts that it has sent him to us and the oncoming generations as *Savior*. All strife will come to an end and everything will have a happy ending." "In his appearance the hopes of the ancestors are fulfilled. He has not only excelled all the former benefactors of humanity but it is impossible that a greater should come."

"*The birthday of the God has led out on the stage of the world the messages of joy related to him.*" "From his birth a new measurement of time must begin."

The last phase of Sibylline development was Christian. They took over both the Apocryphal books and the Sibyllines, greatly expanding them. Thus Book VI (Hymn to Christ), VII (partly Gnostic); VIII, (Hate against Rome, especially Nero, whose return is predicted, eschatology, the judgment, description of the terrible sufferings of hell according to oriental-Iranian views, finally peace, Christology). This popular literature consisted of terrible hexameters. Once (Book VIII, 11. 217-250) it employed the acrostic form of the pagan Sibyllines. Fanaticism is added to hate. Thus Book XIII has become completely secular.

The influence of this dizzy literature was widespread. The Apologists, Clement of Alexandria employ it. Lactantius's eschatology in part is based on it. Even Augustine¹² as we shall see knows all about the pagan acrostic. The so-called Middle Ages develops it still further. Byzantium created new prose oracles which penetrated to the Italian peninsula and in the eleventh century were acclaimed as sayings of the Sibyl. They contain the story of the miraculous call of the prophetess, the prophecy of a messianic king, who returned his crown in Jerusalem to God.

Despite the internal and external evidence in favor of the Fourth Eclogue being Virgilian, Constantine informed the Christian saints at Nicaea it was Christian. Let us now turn to the consideration of the "evidence" that could induce the emperor, Lactantius, and Augustine to commit this literary atrocity.

In his famous oration, Constantine identifies the virgin of the Virgilian poem with Mary the virgin of Christian faith; the lions that "frighten the travailing kine," with the persecutors of the Christian church, with the serpent of the garden of Eden, the people of the new age, with Christians; and lets Jesus who said blessed be *the maintainers of peace*

be the leader of the "new wars which shall rise" against Troy restored (undertaken by Troy against itself) a bold allegorical adventure belying every saying he uttered. For Virgil was "no mere man but a prophet of God!" *"And it is evident that the Virgin Sibyl spoke these words under the influence of divine inspiration. And I cannot but esteem her blessed; whom the Saviour thus selected to unfold his gracious purpose towards us."*

Then he or his ghost writer recalled that "many, however, who admit that the Erythraean Sibyl (the first 'Christian' emperor is slightly confused, Cumaeen Sibyl) was really a prophetess, yet refuse to credit this prediction (Fourth Eclogue) and *imagine that someone professing our (Christian) faith, and not unacquainted with the poetic art, was the composer of these verses. They hold, in short, that they are a forgery and alleged to be the prophecies of the Sibyl on the ground of their containing useful moral sentiments, tending to restrain licentiousness, and to lead men to a life of sobriety and decorum. . . .*"¹³

"Constantine's attacks on polytheism and his reference to the Sibyl as a witness to Christian truth are hints that he has actually read Lactantius' Institutes, the theological magnum opus dedicated it to him."¹⁴

Constantine now supports his argument by alluding to an acrostic which was built upon Jesus Christ Son of God Saviour Cross and it was just as effective when translated into Latin. There are 31 magical letters in the charm hailing from the Sibyl. Remember that a Sibylline is authentic when written, when vouched for by hexameters and by acrostic form. The ghost-writer of Constantine, Lactantius the Latin rhetorician must have swelled with pardonable pride when he realized that he had composed the magical acrostic upon which the emperor had based the charm. Con-

siderable skill and literary ability were required to produce: *Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, Cross*.¹⁵

This must have been an exceedingly powerful charm. The only words missing are Kyrios and Logos. To think that it proved deity for the author of the sermon on the mount!

"Lactantius," according to Augustine, "also inserted in his work the prophecies about Christ of a certain Sibyl, he does not say which (what difference would it make!). But I have thought fit to combine in a single extract . . . what he has set down in many short quotations. She says, 'afterward He shall come into the injurious hands of the unbelieving, and they will give God buffets with profane hands . . .'" We might quote further from Lactantius but we would weary the reader and the Sibyl would have to be judged a mere copyist of the Gospel records. There is nothing new here.¹⁶

So we come to Aurelius Augustine, who explains how the word for Jesus Christ when mystically understood becomes Ichthus (fish) the much employed symbol of early Christians: Jesus Christ, of God the Son, Savior. This is the powerful acrostic with which the saint operates. Augustine omits the stanza on the cross and differentiates between the Cumaean Sibyl and the Erythraean Sibyl.¹⁷

Augustine quotes as well from the Fourth Eclogue:

"He would not have deceived you; for Him your own oracles, on your own showing, acknowledged holy and immortal. It is of Him, too, that the most famous poet speaks, poetically indeed, since he applies it to the person of another, yet truly, if you refer it to Christ, saying, 'under thine auspices, if any traces of our crimes remain, they shall be obliterated, and freed from its perpetual fears . . .' For that he did not say

this at the prompting of his own fancy, Virgil tells us in almost the last verse of that Fourth Eclogue, when he says; 'The last age predicted by the Cumaean Sibyl has now arrived; whence it plainly appears that this had been dictated by the Cumaean Sibyl.' "

These two quotes by Virgil from the Cumaean Sibyl demonstrate, says Augustine, that the poet is under the immediate inspiration. No wonder, then, that the Sibyl ought to be included among those who belong to the City of God!¹⁸

Having accomplished the inspiration of the Sibyl and of Virgil the famous three have paved the way for the admission of a vast array of pagan literary effort to the canon of the Bible. Fortunately it never got beyond the portals. "The heathen deities were as truly existent in the imagination of the early Greek Christian as in that of his polytheistic neighbor." So their critics like Celsus could accuse them of having corrupted the Sibylline Oracles, as we have noticed. Virgil was paraphrased into Greek. This paraphrase was used by the ghost-writer of Constantine and he seemed to have scored his point. His address got by. Various writers vied for the credit of having first adapted Virgil's saying to the needs of Christians. Paul is represented as visiting the sepulchre of Virgil. When Christ was born, a fountain of oil burst forth at Rome, all Sodomites of whom Virgil wrote perished, ox and ass bent their knees in adoration, idols of Egypt fell from their pedestals and were broken in pieces, the image of Romulus suffered a similar fate. The temple of peace was destroyed. Three suns appeared in the heavens. Virgil's writings became a Bible to the race.¹⁹

The greatest injury done the Bible was the popularization of the allegorical method. For if the arbitrary allegorical

method can be employed by Constantine, Lactantius, and Augustine to obtain desired results why not when employed by the founders of modern religious cults. The arbitrary results are natural. By then Cain is made to commit suicide instead of murder by the change of a smooth breathing to a rough: auton (him) to auton (himself). "He killed himself," all evil is self-destructive, and to be sure it is. The yield of the planted seed is thirty-fold, sixty-fold, one hundred fold, that is to say: Marriage, widowhood, and virginity, says Jerome. Augustine takes first prize for his operation upon the story found in Genesis 22:1-18.

Verse thirteen reads:

"And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and beheld behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead of his son."

For Augustine, the "ram" is Christ; the "wood" is the cross; "caught by his horns in the thicket," Christ crowned with thorns.

Jerome took the one hundred nineteenth psalm and deduced the whole plan of salvation from the Latin translation of the Hebrew alphabet found between its verses. For did not "aleph" represent *doctrine*; "beth," *domus*; "gimel," *plenitudo*; "daleth," *tabularum*! Hence the conclusion must be reached that, "the doctrine of the church, the house of God, is found in its fulness in the divine books."

"It is strange that the last man of intellectual eminence before the dark ages was concerned, not with saving civilization or expelling the barbarians or reforming the abuses of the administration, but with preaching the merit of virgin-

ity and the damnation of unbaptized infants. Seeing that these were the preoccupations that the Church handed on to the converted barbarians, *it is no wonder that the succeeding age surpassed almost all other fully historical periods in cruelty and superstition.*"²⁰

28. *The Christological Story to the Compromise Formula of Chalcedon.*

To tell the rest of the Christological story; the interpretation of the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan creed led to theological major actions prepared for by the heavy artillery of ecclesiastical politics. One good man after the other fell upon the Christological battlefield as Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome jockeyed for position. The heaviest casualties were counted between A.D. 428 and 451 when the compromise formula of Chalcedon was adopted:

"We, then, following the holy Fathers all with one consent, teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and also perfect in manhood; truly God and truly man, *of a reasonable (rationable) soul*²¹ and body; consubstantial (coessential) with the father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood; in all things like unto us without sin; begotten before all ages of the Father according to the Godhead, and in these latter days, for us and for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, **THE MOTHER OF GOD, ACCORDING TO THE MANHOOD: one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only begotten, to be acknowledged in TWO NATURES, INCONFUSEDLY, UNCHANGEABLY, INDIVISIBLY, INSEPARABLY:** the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and

concurring in one person and one Subsistence, not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, the only begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ; as the prophets from the beginning have declared concerning Him, and the Lord Jesus Christ himself has taught us, and the Creed of the holy Fathers has handed down to us."

APPENDIX A

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

Gnosticism blended with Christian ideas

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| A. D. 451 | 25. Chalcedon. |
| A. D. 325 | 24. Nicaea, Constantine, Lactantius, Augustine. |
| | 23. "Son of man" ceases to have eschatological significance; becomes humanity of Jesus. |
| | 22. <i>Cur Deus Homo</i> : Psalm 82:6: Irenaeus. |
| | 21. Beginnings of shorter Apostles' Creed. |
| A. D. 180 | 20. Old Testament—New Testament: Bible—first instance of this combination. |
| | 19. Monarchical Episcopate. |
| | 18. Beginnings of New Testament. |
| | 17. Jesus = the "Second God" of the Christian Apologists. |
| | 16. Second Greek Life of Jesus: "Johannine Gospel": Jesus now incarnate God: <i>Logos</i> . |

Gnosticism Pre-Christian Oriental Mysticism

15. Jesus = *Theos Soter*: God Saviour.
14. First written Greek life of historical Jesus: Synoptic Gospels: Mark, Matthew, Luke.
13. Jesus = Wonder-child (Virgin birth).
12. Docetism.
11. James.
10. Death of Paul.
9. Founding of Pauline Greek Churches.
8. Paul accepts "*Kyrios*" as Greek title for Jesus.
7. Conversion of Paul.
6. Greek Christian Church at Antioch chooses "*Kyrios*": a Greek name for God = "Lord," from LXX.
5. Jesus = "*Son of man*" (Pre-existent, heavenly, super-natural Messiah) for the Jerusalem church.
4. Jewish-Christian church at Jerusalem.
- A. D. 30 3. Death of Jesus.
2. Pre-Calvary Life of Jesus. Spoke Aramaic. Employed the Holy Book of his people. Attended synagogue. Galilee and Jerusalem.
1. Old Testament. Apocrypha. Pseudepigrapha. John the Baptizer. Essenes. Zadokite Document. Qumram.

APPENDIX B

ALL ATTEMPTS TO PROVE THE ANCESTRY OF JESUS NON-JEWISH HAVE FAILED

When I was a lad of twenty-two years of age and a Senior at the University of Michigan, my grandfather, living at the time in Bremen, Germany, died. From the settlement of his tiny estate my share of the inheritance came to five dollars. On receiving this share I dashed over to Wahr's book store and purchased Haeckel's *The Riddle of the Universe* in which I found on page 328 this story:

"This statement of the apocryphal gospels that the Roman officer, Pandera, was the true father of Christ, seems all the more credible when we make a careful anthropological study of the personality of Christ. He is generally regarded as purely Jewish. Yet the characteristics which distinguish his high and noble personality and which are a distinct impression to his

religion, are certainly not semitic. They are rather features of the higher Aryan race and especially of its noblest branch, the Hellenes. Now, the name of Christ's real father 'Pandera' points unequivocally to a Greek origin, in one manuscript, in fact, it is written 'Pandora' . . ."

This made such an impression on me that I critically examined book after book questioning in any way the historicity of Jesus even to the most recent attempts. Some trick has always been discovered.

In that very influential book of Alfred Rosenberg known as *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* the following is stated in a note on Page 76:

"There is not the slightest compelling reason for assuming that Jesus was of Jewish ancestry, although he may have grown to Manhood in a Jewish thought world.

"According to the fourth century Christian preacher, Ephraem, Jesus had a Danite woman as mother and a Roman as father. Ephraem notices nothing dishonorable in this and adds: 'Jesus thus traces his descent from two of the greatest and most famous peoples, on his mother's side from the Syrian; on his father's side, from the Romans.' Ephraem assumes that these facts are generally known."¹

But Ephraem was thoroughly orthodox. No statement like this appears in his writings regarding the ancestry of Jesus. What is here applied to Jesus appears in the works of Ephraem in a description of the eschatological opponent of Jesus, i.e. the anti-Christ.

Moreover it is still being debated whether even the description of the descent of the anti-Christ was written by Ephraem or interpolated much later.

Finally, "*Hebrews*" has been arbitrarily changed to

"Syrians" and any orthodox Christian scholar of the fourth century world would have classified the tribe of Dan as Hebrew.

This invention is not original with Rosenberg but hails from E. Jung, *Die Geschichtliche Persönlichkeit Jesus*, who made an arbitrary text change of Hebrew into Syrian. Finally it is not even certain that the passage regarding the anti-Christ really originated with Ephraem.²

There are several perversions of the facts in Rosenberg. There is no historical value in Jung's observations.

APPENDIX C

ISAIAH 7:14 "YOUNG WOMAN OF MARRIAGEABLE AGE"

The uproar occasioned by the publication of the Revised Standard Version in September, 1952 with its rendering of Isaiah 7:14 as, "Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign. Behold, a young woman shall conceive and bear a son and shall call his name Immanuel," demonstrated the wide gap between lay and professional religious knowledge in American church groups. A very old and more correct rendering of a verse in Isaiah was declared to be new and revolutionary! The rage against the "new" translation was an illustration of what is bound to occur when sermons and Sunday School Lessons suppress for decades facts familiar to scholars until ignorance of the Bible becomes so overwhelming that one resorts to burning the very translation which seeks to maintain the Bible's right to be regarded as worthy of a place in twentieth century religious life in the United States.

An examination of the actual data regarding Isaiah 7:14 in a few Bible texts during the last century and a quarter ought to be of benefit to the American Protestant laity in allaying the widespread suspicion that the change was damaging to the "Faith once for all delivered to the saints."

In 1812 George Townsend of Trinity College, Cambridge wrote: "It is generally supposed by commentators that Ahaz received a sign with this prediction and that the sign given to him and the original and primary meaning of the prophecy was that Isaiah should marry a young woman . . . and that within the time that she should conceive and bring forth a child . . . the enemies of Judah should be destroyed. Immediately after this, Isaiah takes a wife . . . and before his son can discern between good and evil, both these kings are slain."

G. Vance Smith in a translation of Isaiah published in London in 1826 renders Isaiah 7:14. "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign: Behold the virgin *bath conceived* and shall bear a son and call his name Immanuel." The predicted event was fulfilled then and there not centuries later.

Again in 1865 Samuel Sharpe published his *Hebrew Scriptures Translated*. Isaiah 7:14 appears as:

"Therefore, the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, the *young woman* shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel."

In the 1885 Revision of the Old Testament, the rendering is: "Behold a (*the*) virgin (*maiden*) shall conceive and bear (or, *is with child and beareth*) a son . . ."

In 1894, Kautzsch published his classic *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, a critical translation of the

Old Testament by a galaxy of scholars plus a brief commentary and historical introduction upon the various books of the Old Testament.

Isaiah 7:14 reads: "Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign: *A young woman of marriageable age* will become pregnant and bear a son and call him Immanuel." The commentary says: "The Hebrew word used (*alma*) signifies a young woman of marriageable age without reference to whether she is still virgin or not. The closest German word would be *Frauenzimmer* in its formerly polite sense."

In 1896, Skinner of Cambridge discussed the Isaiah passage, observing that the Greek version of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus have *neânis*, young woman of marriageable age, not parthenos, virgin, and continuing with "any young woman, fit to become a mother whether as yet married or unmarried" is the meaning of the Hebrew word *Alma*.¹

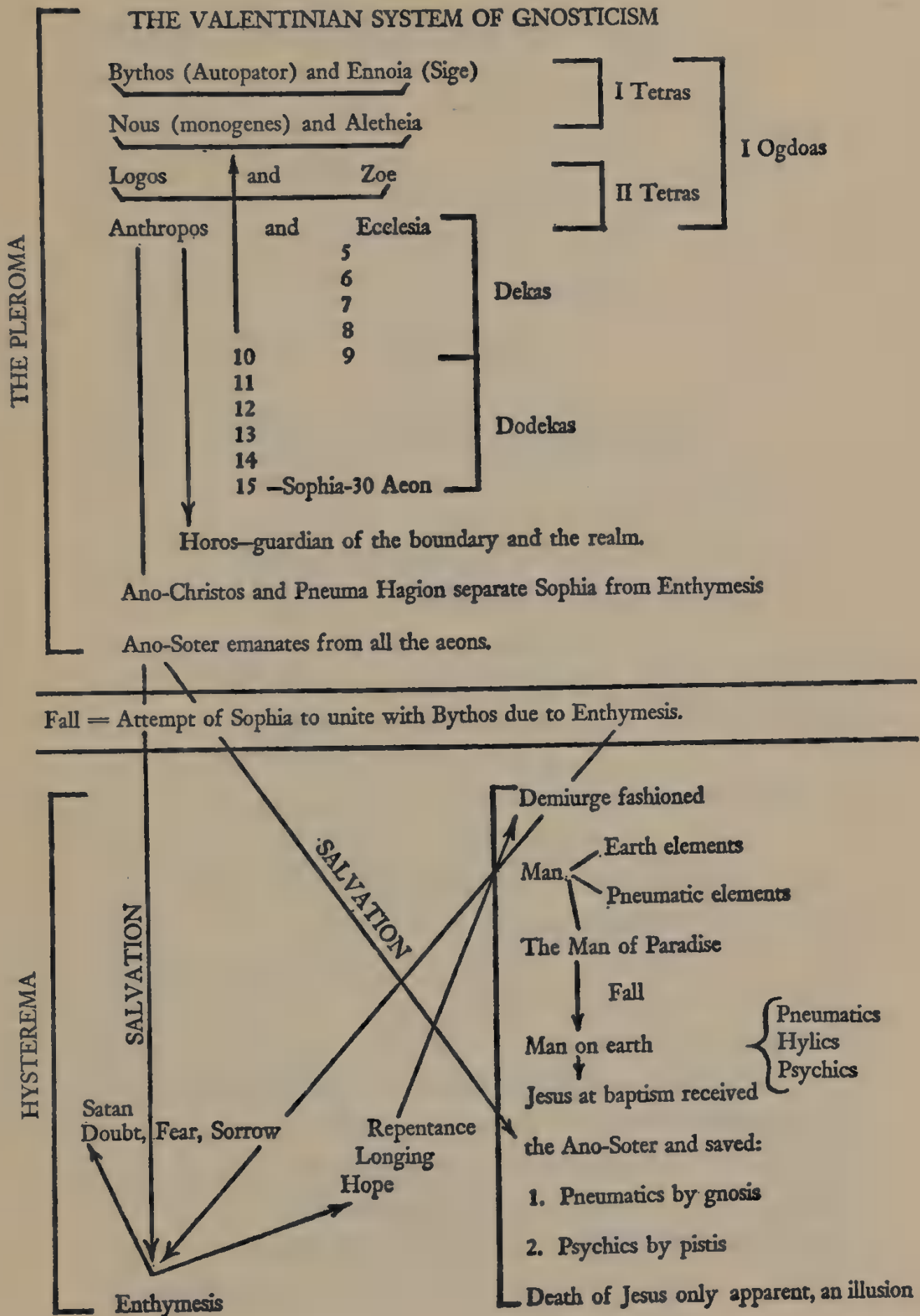
Now we come to the surprise in the story of the translation of Isaiah 7:14. The Baptist publication in 1913 of a text translation of *the Old Testament made by very distinguished Baptist scholars and rendering the Isaiah passage*: "Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign: behold, a young woman will conceive and bear a son and will call his name, Immanuel!"

In the margin of this Baptist Old Testament is this comment:

V. 14. The Hebrew word means "*a young woman of marriageable age*." The ordinary rendering "Behold a virgin" is supported by many scholars. The word in question is used only in six other passages . . . In these cases the translators regard the rendering, 'a young woman' as more nearly than any other expressing the exact meaning of the original."

APPENDIX D

THE VALENTINIAN SYSTEM OF GNOSTICISM



APPENDIX E

VIRGIL'S FOURTH ECLOGUE

Muses to whom Sicilian shepherds sang,
Teach me a loftier strain. The hazel copse
And lowly tamarisk will not always please.
If still the wild, free woodland note be heard,
Our woodland song must suit a consul's ear.

It continues with the eloquent and majestic lines:

Lo, the last age of Cumae's seer has come!
Again the great millennial aeon dawns.
Once more the hallowed Maid appears, once more
Kind Saturn reigns, and from high heaven descends
The firstborn child of promise. Do but thou,
Pure Goddess, by whose grace on infant eyes
Daylight first breaks, smile softly on this babe;
The age of iron in his time shall cease
And golden generations fill the world.
E'en now thy brother, Lord of Light and Healing,
Apollo, rules and ends the older day.

Thy office, Pollio, thine, shall mark the year
Wherein this star begins his glorious course.
Under thy banner all the stains of ill,
That shame us yet, shall melt away and break
The long, long night of universal dread.
For the child's birthright is the life of gods,
Heroes and gods together he shall know,
And rule a world his sire has blessed with peace.

For thee, fair Child, the lavish Earth shall spread
Thy earliest playthings, trailing ivy-wreaths
And foxgloves red and cups of water-lilies,
And wild acanthus leaves with sunshine stored.
The goats shall come uncalled, weighed down with
mild,
Nor lions' roar affright the laboring kine.
Thy very cradle, blossoming for joy,
Shall with soft buds caress thy baby face;
The treacherous snake and deadly herb shall die,
And Syrian spikenard blow on every bank.

But when the boyish eyes begin to read
Rome's ancient prowess and thy sire's great story,
Gaining the power to know what manhood is,
Then, league by league, the plain without a sower
Shall ripen into waves of yellow corn;
On every wild-thorn purple grapes shall cluster
And stubborn oaks yield honey clear as dew.
But in men's hearts some lingering seed of ill
E'en yet shall bid them launch adventurous keels,
And brave the inviolate sea, and wall their towns
And cut earth's face with furrows. Then behold
Another Tiphys take the helm and steer

Another Argo, manned by chosen souls
Seeking the golden, undiscovered East.
New wars shall rise, and Troy renewed shall see
Another great Achilles leap to land.

At last, when stronger years have made thee man,
The voyager will cease to vex the sea
Nor ships of pinewood longer serve in traffic,
For every fruit shall grow in every land.
The field shall thrive unharrowed, vines unpruned,
And stalwart ploughmen leave their oxen free.
Wool shall not learn the dyer's cozening art,
But in the meadow, on the ram's own back,
Nature shall give new colors to the fleece,
Soft blushing glow of crimson, gold of crocus,
And lambs be clothed in scarlet as they feed.
"Run, run, ye spindles! On to this fulfilment
Speed the world's fortune, draw the living thread."
So heaven's unshaken ordinance declaring
The Sister Fates enthroned together sang.

Come, then, dear child of gods, Jove's mighty heir,
Begin thy high career; the hour is sounding.
See how it shakes the vaulted firmament,
Earth and the spreading seas and depth of sky!
See, in the dawning of a new creation
The heart of all things living throbs with joy!
Oh, if but life would bring me days enough
And breath not all too scant to sing thy deeds,
Not Thracian Orpheus should outdo the strain,
Nor Linus, though his mother aid the one,
His sire the other, sweet Calliope
And beautiful Apollo. Lord of Song.
Nay, even Pan, his own Arcadia judging,
Should, by Arcadia's judgment, own defeat.

Come, child, and greet thy mother with a smile!
Ten weary waiting months her love has known.
Come little Child! Whoso is born in sorrow
Jove ne'er hath bidden join the immortal banquet
Nor deathless Hebe deigned to be his bride.

Mayor, Fowler, Conway, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, 1907

APPENDIX F

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE APOSTLES' CREED: RECENT REVISION

I.

THE REMOTE ANCESTOR OF "THE APOSTLES' CREED"

Either II Corinthians 13:13 "Lord Jesus Christ . . . God . . .
Holy Spirit"

Or Matthew 28:19 "Father, Son, Holy Spirit"

II.

THE EARLIEST "APOSTLES' CREED"

I believe in

23 God

Father

Almighty

Greek and in Jesus Christ

His Son

Our Lord

words and in Holy Spirit

holy church

resurrection of flesh

III.

“THE APOSTLES’ CREED IN THE LATE
SECOND CENTURY”

(additions within parentheses)

I believe in

57 God

Greek and in Jesus Christ
words

Father

His Son

Almighty

our Lord

(who was born of Mary the
virgin who was crucified un-
der Pontius Pilate and buried,
on the third day he rose from
the dead ascended into
heaven, sitteth on the right
hand of the Father whence
he cometh to judge living
and dead)

and in Holy Spirit holy church resurrection of flesh

IV.

“THE APOSTLES’ CREED” IN THE
FOURTH CENTURY

(additions to III in italics)

I believe in

63 God

Greek

words

and in Jesus
Christ

Father

only begotten

His Son

Almighty

our Lord

Holy Spirit and who was
born of Mary the virgin who
was crucified under Pontius
Pilate and buried, on the
third day he rose from the
dead ascended into heaven,
sitteth on the right hand of
the Father whence he cometh
to judge the living and dead
remission of sins

and in Holy Spirit holy church resurrection of flesh

V.

"THE APOSTLES' CREED" IN ITS FINAL FORM

Sixth century and later (additions to IV in italics)

I believe in

*maker of heaven
and earth*

82 God Father Almighty
 Greek and in Jesus Christ His only begotten Son our Lord
 words

who was *conceived by* the
 Holy Spirit, born of Mary
 the virgin who *suffered* un-
 der Pontius Pilate, crucified
 dead and buried, he de-
 scended into hell, on the
 third day he rose from the
 dead ascended into heaven,
 sitteth on the right hand of
God the Father *Almighty*
 whence he cometh to judge
 living and dead

I believe in

the *Catholic communion* of saints *life eternal*
 Holy Spirit holy church remission of sins,
 resurrection of flesh.

APPENDIX ■

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK AND RAYMOND BLAINE FOSDICK

"Many modern men and women can understand the plight of the famous Dr. Jowett of Oxford, who, so runs the tradition, inserted 'used to' in a muffled voice, when he recited the creed: 'I *used* to believe in God the Father Almighty.' " "... What Charles Darwin is reported to have said about himself, many if they spoke frankly would say too: 'Sometimes I feel a warm sense of a personal God, and then'—with a shake of his head—"it goes away.' " ¹

"His grandfather and father were both prominent educators in Buffalo; from their Connecticut Yankee ancestry the Fosdicks inherited a compulsion to teach and preach. In Raymond's older brother Harry Emerson, this flowered into a notable career as pastor of the Riverside Church in New York. But Raymond was dissatisfied early about conventional

religion. From discussions around the dinner table, from reading Darwin and Spencer, and also Emerson and Tennyson, he gradually evolved a practical, humanitarian religion of his own which omitted a personal God but carried a responsibility to be always up and doing."²

APPENDIX H

THE HALDEMAN-RAUSCHENBUSCH CONTROVERSY

When Walter Rauschenbusch's first major work, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* appeared, Dr. I. M. Haldeman made a "keen analysis of a college professor's new Book in the light of The Old Book" in a 42-page pamphlet. The portion in this description of the new heresy is a good sample of the hundreds of attacks by fundamentalists:

Let us inquire, then, what was the actual relation of our Lord to the world and the society in which he lived.

He saw corruption in government, but never called upon men to rebuke it as such; on the contrary, he commanded the people to pay the taxes which a corrupt government had imposed upon them.

He saw an empire founded on force and living by the sword. He never rebuked a soldier or uttered a word against the sword; on the contrary, he said that he himself came to

send a sword upon earth—and history has amply fulfilled his prophecy. Thousands have died fighting each other in his name.

So far from announcing an era of peace, he declared in the most definite and unmistakable terms, that war and conquest should continue till his return. He himself would come back with military display at the head of an immense army with thunder of judgment and gleam of lightnings. Instead of bearing an olive branch in his hand he would burst upon the earth like Noah's flood, sweeping the ungodly and the sinner away.

So far from intimating that this age would widen into areas of spiritual and industrial peace, little by little, gain by gain, until the divine presence should be felt and an unseen Christ enthroned, until every man in love profound should call his neighbor brother, he testifies the age will end in storm, in violence, the heavens and the earth in commotion, the waves of the sea roaring, the nations running to and fro and men's hearts failing them for fear, for looking after the things that are coming on earth.

So far from intimating that social conditions should be redeemed and righteousness rule in men, he declares that lawlessness shall be multiplied and love wax cold.

So far from assuring us that the truth shall prevail, he says false teachers shall come in his name and deceive many, iniquity shall clothe itself as the anointed of God, and in the livery of righteousness lead many to destruction.

In none of these things did he hold out the hope of social betterment.

He saw the saloon, the wine shop and the drunkard at every corner; he organized no campaign against them and was never crowned and hailed as a prohibitionist.

He saw slavery; not a word did he speak against it.

He knew men toiled for stipends and that the wages of the laborer were kept back by fraud; he raised no protest, never suggested a strike, or counselled a revolt.

He saw poverty, wretched, terrible, appalling. Did he intimate that by application of the principles he taught wealth should be divided and every man at last sit under his own vine and fig tree, none daring to molest nor make afraid? Not at all. He rebuked those who would have sold the ointment Mary poured on his feet and who would have given the proceeds to the poor instead. He rebuked them for their suggested economy, their offered benevolence, and assured them personal relation and devotion to himself were the preëminent virtues, and added, in striking phrase, that poverty should continue till the day of his return; that there never would arrive a time during his absence when the social condition would be, or could be, otherwise classified than as rich and poor; as those having much and more than enough, and those having little and not enough.

It is true, he went about doing good. He alleviated human sorrow, he healed the sick and raised the dead, but he did these things, always, by the exercise of such powers as to place his action entirely outside the category of example.

To follow that example actually has never been possible. To attempt to follow it spiritually minimizes its value and renders the result nil.

If compassion for the condition of society prompted his action, if it led him not only to preach alleviation but to practice it, why did he limit the range of his work? There were multitudes of others who were sick, and others besides the young girl, the widow's son and Lazarus, who were dead.

The truth is, his work was limited, because it was never for a moment socialistic, but always Messianic. It had a limited and definite object—the demonstration that he was

the Messiah, Israel's anointed king. He was reporting himself as such through his work. When John the Baptist in dire perplexity sent to inquire whether he really were the Christ, the "Coming One," Jesus simply drew the attention of John's messengers to the fact that he was healing the sick, giving sight to the blind and preaching the Gospel to the poor. He bade them take these facts as credentials of his Messiahship, his right to be Israel's king—I. M. Haldeman, Professor Rauschenbusch's Christianity and the Social Crisis, pp. 24-28.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Braden, *Jesus Compared* p. 123.
2. Leviticus 14:33-54.
3. Mark 4:10-12.
4. Mark 4:34.
5. Psalm 78:2; Matthew 13:34-36.
6. Matthew 13:10-17.
7. Bultmann, *The Theology of the New Testament*, p. 26ff.
8. Philippians 2:6-11.
9. Mark 14:21, 49.
10. Mark 14:27, Zechariah 13:7.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Old Testament appears for first time in A.D. 180.
2. Hibbert Journal, October 1938, 54ff.
3. Old Testament.
4. To the Philadelphians, 8:2.

5. Psalm 69:25.
6. Psalm 109:8.
7. Mark 13:30.
8. Burton, *New Testament Word Studies, Son of Man*, 55-61.
9. Bultmann, *op. cit.* 30.
10. Matthew 10:6,23.
11. Matthew 10:1-11.
12. Matthew 10:23.
13. II Peter 1:16, 3:4, 12 ("The advent of the day of God")
14. Matthew 24:3,27,37,39.
15. Dial. 14:8, 40:4.
16. Dial. 118:2.
17. Shailer Mathews, p. 682, *Dictionary of the Bible*.
18. In 1939, the author published an extensive critical history of practice of both baptism and the Christian Eucharist in the early church. It is found at pages 136-166 of *Protestantism's Challenge*.
19. Acts 2:38, 8:16, 10:48, 19:15, 22:16; Romans 6:3, 10:9; I Corinthians 6:11; Galatians 3:27; Ephesians 1:13; James 2:7.
20. A.D. 858.
21. I Corinthians 15:29. See *Catholic Encyclopedia* II, 271.
22. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, II, 122.
23. Jackson—Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, vol. I, 334ff., 343ff.
24. See page 157ff *Protestantism's Challenge* for the influence of Revised Version upon the text of the eucharist and the emphasis in the prayers of the *Didache* upon Jesus' revelation of the Father and the approaching unity of the church in the Kingdom of God.

25. E. Schwartz, *Zeitschrift fuer die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 7, 1 ff.; Spitta, *Beitraege zur Geschichte und Literatur des Urchristentums* I, 221 ff.; H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrnmahl*; R. G. G. I. col. 6 f.; also *Geschichte der alten Kirche*, II, chap. 5.

26. Acts 2:42.

27. Acts 2:46.

28. Luke 22:16.

29. The instance of church (Acts 2:47, A.V.) is not recognized as authentic and so does not constitute the first use of *church*! The critical text of Roman Catholicism does not read it.

30. Matthew 28:16-20.

31. Cf. Matthew 10:5,23.

32. Matthew 5:13-16.

33. Romans 10:13, Acts 2:21.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. See Appendix C Isaiah 7:14, "Young woman of marriageable age."

2. See Appendix D for an outline of the Valentine System of Gnosticism.

3. See Colwell and Titus, *The Gospel of the Spirit*.

4. Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, II, 52 ff. See Appendix F.

5. Zosimus II, 29.

6. Lactant. *Divine Institutes*, VII, 24.

7. Sib. Orac. III, 826.

8. *de Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 23.

9. *de Divinatione*, II, 54.

10. Mayor, Fowler, Conway have a volume on *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, where a good English translation and

notes may be found, pp. 2-9. We follow in general the theory and argument of Hans Lietzmann's monograph, "*Der Menschensohn*."

11. "He (Augustus) also kept his chin smooth afterwards like the rest for he was already beginning to be enamored of Livia and also for this reason he divorced Scribonia the very day she bore him a daughter"—Dio Cassius, LVIII, 34.

12. *de Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 23.

13. N.P.N.F. I, 574 f, *Oration of Constantine*.

14. Lietzmann, *History of the Early Church* III, 159.

15. 31 letters; N.P.N.F. 574 f.

16. *City of God*, N.P.N.F. I, 372; Schuerer, *op cit.* III, 271.

17. *Civitas Dei* X, 27, N.P.N.F. I, 197.

18. N.P.N.F. I, 373 (*City of God* XVIII Ch. XXIII.)

19. J. S. Tunison, *Master Virgil*. 156-188.

20. Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy*, p. 366.

21. Italics against Apollinaris; SMALL CAPITALS against Nestorius; CAPITALS against Eutyches.

NOTES TO APPENDIX B

1. Rosenberg's *Mythus* (7th Edition, 1933, p. 76).

2. Windisch, *Die Christliche Welt*, 1935, 247, 297.

NOTES TO APPENDIX C

1. See Skinner, *Commentary* p. 59. Gray, *Commentary on Isaiah I*; 7:12-16 page 135. Also E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Persus, I and Science of Fairy Tales*.

NOTES TO APPENDIX G

1. H. E. Fosdick, *The Meaning of Faith*, page 67.
2. Roger Butterfield, Review of *Chronicle of a Generation* by Raymond Blaine Fosdick, p. 23 (Saturday Review) September 20, 1958.